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AN INTRODUCTION TO NYAKYUSA SOCIETY

By GODFREY WILSON

This paper is an attempt to give an outline of the pagan culture of the Nyakyusa people of South Tanganyika¹ in relation to the three fundamental groups into which their society is articulated—the family, the age-village and the chiefdom. Every Nyakyusa belongs to some family, to some age-village, to some chiefdom; and in his membership of these three groups is comprehended most of his behaviour.

Sociology is the objective study of human relationships which, as they only exist in men's activities, can only there be studied. The systematic investigation of culture, of the common economic, ceremonial, legal, religious and other activities which obtain among some group of people, is the sole possible method of discovering the system of human relationships which makes of the group a society. It is only by viewing all the facts of culture in the light of the relationships of the people concerned that we can see the full objective significance of those facts, it is only so that we can see the body or actuality of those relationships. For human relationships are the most inclusive facts of social life, they are the form² which the sociologist seeks for in the matter of his special field; whether he is engaged in description, or in the functional analysis of a single culture, or in the comparative analysis of several cultures, human relationships are always his goal, which he must reach if his account of fact is to be coherent, if his explanations are to be complete.

The method adopted in this paper is that of Professor Malinowski and his followers; it involves a repudiation of the one-sided Durkheimian concept of "social integration" or "solidarity," and a realization that culture, consisting as it does of human behaviour with a human meaning, has a material reality which makes possible and conditions the human relationships that integrate it and give it form. This point is elaborated in the concluding section.

In order to make Nyakyusa society into a wholly lucid unit, intelligibly comparable with other societies, it would be necessary to undertake a complete functional analysis, and to explain in detail why it is that different members of this group on different occasions generally conform,

¹ I am greatly indebted to the Rockefeller Foundation for the Fellowship which makes my investigation possible.

² By "form" is meant, not a sensible pattern, but an intelligible system of fact.

as they do, in their behaviour and their mutual relationships to a common type. Space forbids such an undertaking here; and it is necessary to emphasize that, although the most significant facts are described in an orderly manner, and although certain reasons for these facts are indicated in their specific character and in their connections with one another, yet these reasons are not fully or systematically worked out, and the result is a description which leaves the facts only half-explained. And, in so far as this society is not here fully analyzed, so it is not yet fully comparable with others. The reader of this paper will detect many points of similarity and of difference between Nyakyusa society and some other with which he is familiar, but the comparison cannot be made to yield any propositions about the nature of human societies in general until the facts of both have been fully explained in terms of their particular social, cultural, and external conditions.

Climate, Cultural Groups, and European Contact.

The Nyakyusa live in the Rungwe District of South Tanganyika in the Rift Valley at the head of Lake Nyasa. The valley is dominated and closed at its North end by the recently extinct Rungwe volcano, from whose foot the land, starting as an upland plateau 5,000 ft. above sea-level, tumbles southwards for twenty-five miles in a broken cascade of hills, to level out in a plain fifteen or twenty miles from Lake Nyasa. The Lake is 1200 ft. above the sea. The East wall of the Rift rises to 10,000 ft. or more in the peaks of the Livingstone Mountains, but the West wall is two or three thousand feet lower. The climate is very wet, for about 130" of rain fall each year, and, at 9° South of the Equator, is also very hot. The rain and the sun together make the land extremely fertile; the district is thickly populated (over 100 to the square mile), famine is rare and the Nyakyusa are far better fed than most of their neighbours. Rice was introduced into the plain by Arabs, coffee by the German Missionaries in the hills, and these two crops to-day, under the enthusiastic care and guidance of the Government Agricultural Department, bring to many Nyakyusa a small but steadily increasing cash income.

Their main foods are bananas, maize, beans, sweet potatoes and a variety of greenstuffs, together with meat and curds from their cattle. Millet is extensively grown and is used both for making beer and for eating in the form of porridge.

The name *Nyakyusa* is nowadays used by themselves as a general name for all those who have similar speech and customs and who live in Tanganyika; but formerly it only covered those who live in the South of the district, in the plain and up in the hills as far North as the administra-

tive capital, Tukuyu, and it is still thus used to distinguish this group from others. This group will here be referred to as "*Nyakyusa proper*." Those in the North of the district to the West and East of Mount Rungwe call themselves *Kukwe* and *Mwamba* respectively, and there is a group of chiefdoms to the East, under the Livingstone Mountains, called *Selya*. All these four groups share a common culture, distinguished by minor local peculiarities of dialect and custom. Immediately bordering the Nyakyusa to the South West are the *Ngonde* (Europeanized as "*Konde*") in Northern Nyasaland; they belong to the same cultural group but are distinguished by greater differences of custom and speech than the others. I have not yet visited them.

In the hills to the West of the Rift live the *Ndali*, who are included in this administrative district; and on the plateau under these hills, to the West of the Kukwe, live the *Penja*. Both these small groups have old languages of their own which, though related to that of the Nyakyusa are more or less unintelligible to them; and they have equally distinct cultures. But they are now rapidly being assimilated to the Nyakyusa both in speech and in law.

I use the name Nyakyusa, in accordance with modern usage, to include the Nyakyusa proper, the Kukwe, Mwamba, and Selya groups, but to exclude the Ndali, the Penja, and the Konde. The Nyakyusa together with the Ndali and Penja number 150,000; the Konde of Nyasaland 30,000.³

Members of the Berlin and Moravian Missions were the first Europeans to settle in the district, where they have lived now for forty-five years and have made numerous converts. The German Administrators followed them closely, and later came a few planters. But pronounced economic change is a matter of the past five to ten years during which time the Lupa Gold Fields of South Tanganyika have been opened up and have employed increasing numbers of Africans on the diggings. During the past few years the young men of the Nyakyusa have developed the habit of going for a few months, now and again, to the Gold Fields to earn money for tax and clothes. They seldom stay more than six months at a time, often only one or two; so that their absence does not cause the same difficulties in their own community that are found in other areas where the men spend longer periods away from home.

The Family, together with a sketch of wider Kinship Groupings

The relationships of husband and wife, parent and child, sibling and sibling are continually visible in the culture of the Nyakyusa. The

³ Government Census figures.

holding of land and the economics of life in general, the rules and procedure of law, the emotional forms of ceremony, the dogma, rite, morality and symbol of religion, the forms of knowledge and opinion—all are interpenetrated by these relationships.

The word *family* is used in this paper to mean the organized group of a man, his wife or wives, and their children of any age, but not to include any other relatives. A Nyakyusa family, as we shall see, does not become extinct when the father dies; his younger full-brother or his senior son steps into his place and the group continues very much as before. In this society families are sometimes monogamous, sometimes polygynous; and, in consequence, two more relationships with which we are not familiar in our own culture are included in the Nyakyusa family; one is the relationship of co-wives and the other is that of half-siblings. Within a polygynous family the different wives and their respective children form groups to some extent distinct from one another; and the term *individual family* is here used to denote the group of a man, one wife and their children, whether that group is part of a polygynous family or forms a complete monogamous family by itself.

The Nyakyusa themselves have no separate word for either of these small groups; the word *ekékolo* is sometimes used in the restricted sense to which we have here confined the word "family," but more usually means the whole of any single person's recognized blood kindred, living or dead, both in the male and female lines; and it is translated in this paper as *kindred*, *kinsfolk*, or *kinsmen*. They also have a word *ovokamu* which includes the whole of any one person's *ekékolo* together with all his recognized affines, and this is here translated *relatives*. The term *affines* is used to translate the Nyakyusa word *avako*, which is identical in meaning with it.

Marriage is legally effected by the handing over of four to thirty cows, together with one or two bulls, by the groom to his wife's father. And this transfer of cattle is the key to the whole Nyakyusa system of blood and affinal relationship. Cattle have a very high value because of their production of milk and meat, which are the most highly prized foods, and because of their scarcity; they are in constant circulation, and by their movement from one man to another they forever create and maintain the bonds of kinship and affinity. Cattle circulate rapidly; few except chiefs have more than six cows in their herds at any one time, more often each man has only two or three, while some have no cows at all; and yet every mature man has paid out, for his own and his sons' marriages, five, ten or twenty times the number of cattle that he at

present possesses. A young man is given cows by his father and sends them to his father-in-law ; his father's income in cattle is derived partly from the increase of his own stock, but chiefly from the marriages of his own and his brothers' sisters and daughters, for it is the custom for full-brothers and half-brothers to give one another cows as their daughters and sisters get married ; the young man's father-in-law gives the cows which he receives some to his brothers, some to his sons, and some he keeps himself. And thus, continually, the cattle are driven down the paths of human relationship.

The passage of cattle makes the children of a marriage legitimate and members of their father's family ; the sons can inherit from their father, and the daughters, when they marry in their turn, bring cattle to him. But if a woman bears a child to a man who has given no cows for her, the child is illegitimate, has no right of inheritance anywhere, and belongs either to her husband or father, not to its own biological sire.

Getting married is not a single event ; the marriage-cattle are seldom handed over all at once, but in ones, twos, or threes over a period of years ; and a girl very commonly goes to visit and sleep with her betrothed husband, from time to time, for several years before she finally sets up house with him and begins to bear his children. There are three ways of getting married : (1) by negotiation with the girl's father (2) by running off with an unmarried girl (3) by running off with a married woman. The first is the ideal, socially approved, method and is not uncommonly followed. The negotiations often begin while the girl is still an infant, sometimes even before she is born ; the man sends one or two cows to her father to bespeak her (*okosingela*). These cows are counted as part of the marriage-cattle (*engwela*) and the girl is henceforth called his " wife," but she lives at home with her parents. Sometimes a boy is betrothed by his father while he himself is still young, but always, I think, to a girl several years his junior. Such betrothals are determined by the friendship of the two families. A girl who is bespoken in infancy does not, ideally, go to live altogether with her husband till after she has reached puberty and passed through the elaborate initiation which then takes place. But there is an intermediate period when, from the age of ten or earlier, she is allowed to visit and sleep with her husband from time to time. The man sends a bull or a hen to her father to ask for his wife (*okosombolela*), and the old man agrees to let her go on occasional visits. But she is seldom allowed to go until at least three cows, in all, have been received for her. She is not supposed to be deflowered before puberty and she and her husband always, at first, practise limited intercourse without penetration. Not infrequently, however, full intercourse

takes place on some occasion and her parents usually find out when it does. In some families the girl's mother examines her after each visit to her husband to see if the hymen is intact, sometimes the girl tells her mother herself. When her father hears about it his action is determined partly by his feelings towards his son-in-law, partly by his need for cattle. Sometimes he does nothing at all ; occasionally he sends back the cows he has received for his daughter and breaks off the marriage, and this is particularly likely to happen if the girl has been forced against her will or generally ill-treated. More usually, however, he sends his daughter to live with her husband saying : " You have made her a woman yourself, you must pay the rest of the marriage-cattle quickly."

We have no evidence to suggest that the girls in any general way dislike sleeping with their husbands before puberty, rather the reverse ; and the men say : " It is good, it accustoms a girl to her husband." But some girls dislike the particular men to whom they are betrothed.

The initiation of a girl at puberty lasts for some months and includes several exchanges of food between her family and that of her husband, and a number of ceremonies in which both her girl friends of the same village⁴ and her husband's friends from his village⁴ participate. If a girl is not bespoken before puberty the initiation is still carried out in a modified form, but its full significance is lost.

Soon after her initiation a girl, if she has been bespoken, goes to live altogether with her husband, to play her part in his economy and to bear him children. If only a few cows have been received for her, her father insists on one or two more being handed over before she is allowed to go. At some time, perhaps during the girl's initiation, perhaps years later, the final marriage ceremony (*okokwa*) takes place. The balance of the marriage-cattle are brought to her father by the husband and his village neighbours,⁴ her " mothers " prepare a great deal of food for the guests to eat, there is dancing, feasting and great excitement.

The number of cows handed over varies with the wealth and social status of the two families concerned. Six to ten cows is the most usual number, but sometimes as few as four or as many as thirty change hands.

The second method of marriage is adopted when a man falls in love with a grown girl, who is not bespoken, and cannot find the cows to satisfy her father at once ; he runs off with her and regularizes the position later by sending cattle. The third method is adopted when a man falls in love with a married woman and has cows available ; he runs off with

⁴ Vide infra " *The Age Village* "

her and then returns to her first husband the cows he had given for her with two in addition as adultery fine. But this return is usually made only after the first husband has brought a lawsuit against him.

Adultery is extremely common now-a-days ; when a man runs off with, or is discovered seducing, a married woman and has not enough cows to marry her, he is legally compelled to pay two cows for the adultery to her husband. In pre-European days an adulterer, if caught, was usually punished by the husband and his neighbours with death or extreme torture, and the old men tell me that adultery was then a rarer event.

The extent to which a girl is usually allowed to choose whom she will marry is difficult to gauge, and varies in different circumstances. Opportunities of meeting and flirting with young men at dances and ceremonies are frequent ; and the older men say that, owing to the abolition by the Europeans of the old severe punishments for adultery, girls are freer now than they used to be, for their lovers no longer fear to run off with them if they are married or bespoken (which is in Nyakyusa law very much the same thing). The custom of betrothing infant girls is, they declare, less common than it used to be ; they are now more chary of pledging their daughters " for when they grow up they just run off with someone else." A girl's choice is, however, limited by the necessity of finding a lover who has cows, and few young men have enough to secure her if she is already married, though they may have enough to pay an adultery fine.

Owing, in part, to the laws of inheritance, by which a commoner's⁵ full-brother inherits before his son, it is the older men who control the cattle. Every bachelor is largely or wholly dependent on his own father (or his dead father's heir) for the cows for his first marriage, and he must hoe his father's fields for many years before he is given enough to secure a wife and to set up a family of his own. Economic reciprocity is an element in most human relationships, and it enters into the Nyakyusa relationship of father and son. It is well understood, in this society, that after a certain length of time spent hoeing his father's fields a young man is entitled to some cows, if his father has any ; and if his father delays too long the young man either stops hoeing for his father or else he takes legal action and enforces his claim. Between father and son such law cases are rare, but they are frequent between a young man and the brother of his father who has inherited his father's wives, property, and position in the family.

⁵ The laws of inheritance for a chief are, in certain respects, different ; vide infra. "*The Chieftdom*."

Normally a bachelor is given cows one by one, over a period of years, and, as we have seen, he sends them, as he receives them, to the father of the girl he wants to marry. One cow is sufficient for betrothal, but not until he has given three can he begin openly to sleep with her. And he cannot usually set up his own economy until he has given at least three cows and she has reached puberty and been initiated. He may of course bespeak an already grown girl, but if he engages himself to a young one he is expected to bring two or more bulls as well, during the course of her initiation.

If he chooses to spend his cows in adultery fines, he may, but he will then have to wait longer to get married.

Thus the system of marriage by a transfer of cattle is, in this society, directly linked with a late marriage age for young men and with a privileged position for older men. When a boy gets cattle he at once gives them to an older man in order to secure his daughter as a wife; the labour of every bachelor helps to increase his father's wealth in food; it is in general the older men alone who can afford more than one wife. And there is an average difference of ten years or more in the initial marriage age of men and girls. The tax registers show in part of the district, among 3,000 adult* men, 34% bachelors, 37% monogamists, and 29% polygynists; and investigation proves that, generally speaking, it is the young men who are bachelors, the men over forty-five who are polygynists.

Though cattle are their most valued form of wealth, it is on agriculture that the economy of the Nyakyusa is primarily based. Meat and milk are luxuries, and daily bread comes from the fields. Hard work in a fertile country provides food for each family, and the millet beer which is the ordinary material of hospitality. Hospitality brings a man prestige and authority among his fellows; on the possession of sufficient food largely depends the contentment of his wives. And in the production, preparation and eating of food the relationships of the family and of the individual family within it, are clearly visible.

Hoeing is the work of men, planting, weeding, reaping and cooking is the work of women. The men, young and old, hoe for about four hours on most mornings of the year; in the lower altitudes they begin well before sunrise and finish about 9 a.m., on the upland plateau they begin later and continue till noon or beyond. The energetic ones sometimes hoe again for an hour or two in the late afternoon. Different

*Presumed to be 18 years or over.

crops are planted at different seasons of the year so that there is always some hoeing to be done.

In a polygynous family each wife has her own fields (*embaka*), hoed by her husband and her own sons, which she plants, weeds and reaps with the help of her own daughters, and the produce of which she uses to cook for her husband, her own children and herself. The relative rights of husband and wife to dispose of produce vary with different crops, but no co-wife has any rights over a woman's food. She may, and often does, ask her co-wives to help in her fields and sends them presents of cooked food from her own fire, she may help them and receive presents in return; but they have no rights over her fields or her food, only her husband and herself. And the fields which are hoed by a bachelor son belong to his own mother, who in her turn cooks food for him to eat.

Each wife has either a hut to herself, or else a separate alcove in a large hut, and there she has her fire for cooking. She fetches her own firewood and water or sends an unmarried daughter for them.

At meals the ages and the sexes eat separately; in some polygynous families each wife sends a dish to the husband, in others the wives take it in turns to cook for him. The husband eats alone or with neighbours of his own age⁷ to share his dish, the older boys and their friends⁷ eat separately from the younger children, and each mother again usually eats with her own daughters, apart.

In the relationship of husband and wife the chief elements are sexual intercourse, co-operation in work, the procreation of children and factors of personal inclination, character and temperament. By men women are praised for sexual skill, cleanliness and beauty, for good cooking and hard work, for their fecundity, and for gentleness of speech and behaviour, and those with opposite qualities are criticized. Among women men are praised for sexual skill and attentiveness, for vigour in hoeing and skill in house-building, and for kindness; while sexual neglect, laziness, impotence and cruelty are disliked and may cause a woman to leave her husband for another man.

The birth of children is a most important factor in the marriage relationship, for children are greatly desired both by men and women. They are desired for themselves and also because they bring their parents wealth and prestige; a boy will one day work in the fields of his father and mother, a girl will bring in cattle from her marriage. And the possession of children brings compliments and respect both to man and woman.

⁷ Vide infra "*The Age-Village*."

Impotence and barrenness are well known facts, and magic is much used to cure them ; but apart from their operation it is believed that each conception directly depends upon the frequency with which a man visits his wife. And thus the bearing of children is, for a woman, a demonstration of her husband's great affection for her. People adduce the number of children that a woman has borne to prove, in conversation, that she is her husband's favourite.

Polygyny is the ideal of every pagan Nyakyusa ; a plurality of wives is necessary, in this society, for full sexual satisfaction, wives bring a man wealth, prestige and authority, the more wives he has the more children, he thinks, will be born to him.

It is believed that any contact with the sexual fluids is dangerous to a young child's health, and so, after a woman has borne a child, her husband is supposed wholly to refrain from intercourse with her for about a year, until the child is old enough to play by itself and allow its mother time to wash in the mornings before touching it. Then he may begin to visit her again, but still she must not become pregnant until the child is weaned, " If she does her breasts become rotten " and the first child is harmed. As children are not weaned for two or three years, this rule involves the couple in yet another year or more either of *coitus interruptus* or of infrequent intercourse (which also is believed to avoid conception). These taboos on intercourse after a child's birth are to some extent observed in practice, and are one of the reasons for polygyny among the Nyakyusa.

Another reason is the absence of hired labour. With a few minor exceptions the only way a man can increase the supply of labour at his disposal is by marrying more wives. Polygyny is the mark of a wealthy man, conditioned by his control of cattle, conditioning his supply of food. And the cattle spent in marriage come back again with interest as the polygynist's daughters begin to be betrothed and married.

It is extremely common for a man to take as his second or third wife the sister, half-sister, or brother's daughter of his first or second wife. By doing so a man pays a great compliment to the wife whose sister, or niece, he takes and to her family ; his action implies complete satisfaction with her and friendship with her family. He sends his wife home " to fetch out (her kinswoman) into the open " (*okosakola*) ; but she will not agree to do so unless she approves of him as a husband, and so, if she does agree, her action likewise compliments him. I know of one case in which a man wished to take his second wife's younger sister in this way,

but his wife refused to go and fetch her on the ground that he was a bad husband.

The children of one man and two close kinswomen have almost the relationship of full-siblings, but not quite, and I propose to call their relationship that of *linked half-siblings* (*vide infra*).

In a polygynous family the first wife married, the chief wife (*onykasi-kolo*), is in a privileged position; she is entitled to the respect and obedience of her co-wives and her eldest son is her husband's ultimate heir. A man cannot lightly divorce his first wife during his own father's lifetime, for while the other wives he obtains by his own efforts, with his own cattle, she is married with cattle given him by his father, who must be consulted before she is divorced and who is offended if she is sent away without good cause.

Besides the chief wife there is, in most polygynous households a favourite wife (*onykondwe*), who in fact has greater privileges. Ideally a man is supposed to be fair to all his wives and to distribute milk, land and sexual attentions equally between them, with perhaps a slight bias in favour of his chief wife. But usually one wife is her husband's favourite and is given by him an undue share of the household's milk supply, and sometimes he hoes more land for her than for the others, as well.

Divorce is legally effected by the return of the marriage-cattle. No pagan woman in this society ever desires to live single, and so when a wife leaves her husband it is always with the intention of marrying some other man. Usually she has a particular man in mind who has been making love to her and who has cows enough to redeem her, but not always. A woman may, as we have described already, run off with a lover and then, as soon as he has returned the marriage-cattle and the adultery fine to her former husband, she becomes his legal wife, and her children by him are legitimate. If she has no lover to run off with, or if her lover wishes to avoid the adultery fine, the woman goes to Court^a (before 1926 she went to her own chief) and publicly refuses to live with her husband. She may or may not give a reason for leaving him, but if she persistently refuses to go back to him there is now no way of compelling her to do so. The judges say to her: "Well you must find the cattle," and so she stays, either with her father or in the charge of a court official, until some man comes to marry her. Then the cows are returned to her first husband and the divorce is effected. In pre-European times, I am told, such a woman was frequently compelled to return to her husband by

^a Vide *infra*. *The Chieftdom*.

her own father and the chief. A man has the right to divorce his wife, that is to send her away and demand back his cows, if she is dirty or lazy in housework or if she commits adultery, but men do not often demand a divorce for adultery unless it is persistent. If a man sends his wife away for some such reason she returns to her father and he, if he has cows available, sends back to her husband his marriage-cattle, if he has not got the cows the husband must wait until the girl is remarried.

Into the relationship of mother and daughter economic co-operation and reciprocity enter. The care of young children is largely in the hands of their elder sisters, and the girls also help their own mothers in field-work and in fetching and carrying. In return their mothers cook for them, teach them how to cook themselves and how to make mats.

Each mother is responsible also for her own daughter's virginity. One of the bulls which a young man brings during the initiation of his betrothed wife is only given if the girl is found on examination to be still virgin, or if he has deflowered her himself. If it is given this bull belongs to the girl's mother to eat with her own friends. But, in spite of her mother's responsibility for her, a girl learns nothing positive from her mother about sex, but from her own slightly older friends; with them she discusses the technique of love-making in detail, but never with her mother.

The relationships of siblings are, in general, closer than those of half-siblings, and the eldest son in each individual family is privileged above his brothers. A boy's claim for cattle is, as we have seen, partly based on the time and energy he has put into hoeing his parents' fields; but it also depends, in part, on having full-sisters of his own. When a girl marries the cows come to her father, but her own full-brothers expect to receive these cows, in time, for their own marriages, in the order of their age. Though the father controls the cattle the brothers speak of them as "our cows" and they have an ultimate legal claim to them, which only gross laziness or insult to their father can altogether vitiate. The eldest of a group of full-brothers is the first to draw on these cows and to marry, his juniors wait longer. Full-brothers are bound together in many ways; the eldest, who is privileged, is bound to help his juniors in any way he can, and they in turn respect him and in time give to him some cows from the marriages of their own daughters; and each makes the others' quarrels his own. What chiefly unites them is the law of inheritance, for though the eldest has first right to the cattle from their sisters' marriages, and though the younger ones, later in life, give cattle from their daughters' marriages to him, yet they are his heirs, and all his privileges in time pass to them. When the eldest dies his next

full-brother steps into his place, takes his wives, huts, land and cows and looks after his children ; after him the next full-brother inherits and so on, until, when all are dead, the property and wives of each pass to each one's senior son.⁹

The heir has exactly the same obligations to his predecessor's children that the dead man had himself while alive, but frequently he has less will to perform them ; and his conformity is often only assured by the pressure of legal and religious sanctions.

This rule of inheritance is part of a more general fact, which is that, in Nyakyusa society, death does not break a family and its relationships, but simply alters the particular people between whom these relationships obtain. Only rarely does death leave a man or woman widowed, or a child orphaned ; nearly always some one is at once substituted in place of the one who has died. When a woman dies young her parents are bound either to give another daughter to her husband or else to return the marriage-cattle to him so that he can obtain another wife ; when a man dies his wives and children are not left alone but taken by his heir. If the heir is a brother he takes all the women as his wives, if a son he builds a separate hut for his own mother and takes the others. And the heir is now " the father " of the dead man's children. Even when a man and all his full-brothers are dead the families of each are still united for some purposes under the leadership of each one's senior son (eldest son of chief wife). The senior son is now called " father " by his siblings and half-siblings, he is religiously responsible for them all (*vide infra*), he normally exchanges cows with the eldest brother in each individual family (*vide infra*), he is entitled to their respect and obedience.

Half-brothers may, or may not, be linked especially closely together. They may, as we have seen, be linked by blood when their two mothers are either sisters or close kinswomen, they may also be linked by an exchange of cattle, by " milking each other's cows " (*okokamanela*). Each group of full brothers regards the cows that come in from the marriages of their sisters as their own cattle, but the father disposes of these cattle as he wishes. If he gives some of their cows to a half-brother, he thereby creates between the eldest of the group and this man the special relationship of " milking each other's cows ; " and it is expected that the cows given will in time be returned by this half-brother from the marriage-cattle either of a full sister or of a daughter of his own. And the exchange once begun goes on ; as their sisters and daughters marry

⁹ This refers to commoner's inheritance only.

they continually give each other cows ; between their respective sons also the exchange usually continues, but between their grandsons it lapses. Reciprocity is expected and can be legally enforced, but it is not insisted upon so long as the two men concerned are friends, and its legal enforcement at once breaks the relationship. If two such half-brothers (or their sons) quarrel, one may take legal action for "separation" (*okolekana*) against the other. The cows that have been handed over by both sides since the beginning of the relationship (perhaps twenty or thirty years before) are counted up, and one or the other is ordered to pay over the balance to make the numbers equal. After this the two are "no longer kinsmen," they have no mutual obligations and do not attend each other's funerals.

It is usual for a father to create this relationship between his senior son and the eldest of each group of full-brothers, so that by this exchange of cows the family is held together. The linkage of half-brothers, whether by blood or by "milking each others cows," is important in inheritance. If a man with no full-brother dies and leaves no sons, or sons too young to inherit, then the inheritance passes to a linked half-brother ; to a half-brother linked by blood if there is one, if there is not then to one linked by exchange of cows.

Religion enters continually into family life and helps to maintain wider kinship bonds also. The Nyakyusa religion falls, broadly, into three parts : The Ancestor cult, Witchcraft and Magic. Taken as a whole their religion, as they believe, secures for them many of the most important values of life, health, good crops and success in various enterprises ; it provides an intelligible explanation of death and misfortune by tracing them to the ill-will either of the ancestral spirits or of living men acting through witchcraft or magic ; in its rituals it resolves fear and replaces it by hope and confidence ; while the believed destructive action of the ancestors and of men is generally, though not entirely, linked with morality.¹⁰ The commonest explanation of misfortune is that some wrong done by the victim, or by his close kinsman, has provoked the spirits or his fellow men to anger.

As long as a man has alive a father, a father's full-brother, or a senior brother or half-brother¹¹ of his own, this senior kinsman deals with the ancestral spirits, not only on his behalf, but also on behalf of his wives and children ; and health is the chief value which his prayers are believed to secure for them. In the absence of sickness or misfortune no appeal is

¹⁰ cf. Godfrey Wilson. "An African Morality." *Africa*. Jan. 1935.

¹¹ Provided the relationship between them has not been legally broken (*vide supra*).

ever made to the spirits, but when some member of a family or his wife or child falls sick the anger of the spirits is often suspected as a possible cause. There are usually other reasons suspected as well, and so the sickness is taken to a diviner for diagnosis. Various causes are suggested to the diviner and he selects one among them. If the anger of the spirits is selected then this senior kinsman must pray for the one who is sick, if he is to recover. When half-brothers live at a distance from one another, after their father and his brothers have died, then each may pray to the spirits to cure a little sickness in his own family but if the sickness persists then a message must be sent to the senior kinsman. And, as the anger of the spirits is due to wrong doing, the sinner must reform his ways as well.

The wrongs which rouse the spirits to anger are usually breaches of family morality. If a son does not respect his father or insults him, if an heir neglects to feed and provide for the dead man's children, then when sickness falls on him or his own children it will probably be traced to the anger of the spirits at his behaviour.

Space does not allow any full analysis of religion in family life and in the relationships of kinsmen and affines. Not only the ancestor cult but witchcraft and magic are factors in them. A man's neglect of a wife or his cruelty to her may, it is believed, lead to his falling sick through her witchcraft and that of sympathetic neighbours; his relations with his father-in-law are affected by the fear that if he offends him, his father-in-law may, by magical means, kill his children, and so on.

Wider kinship groupings than the family gather at ceremonies and are recognized in the rules against incest. But there are no clans; there is no descent group continuous down the generations with a common name and definite membership. Each individual family has its own penumbra of kinsfolk, the effective kindred of a man and his son, or of two half-brothers are not all the same, while each single person is especially related by respect, affection and mutual obligations to particular kinsmen beyond his own family. Descent, as we have seen, is patrilineal except in the case of illegitimate children. A man asked for his *ekokolō* always recites first the names of his paternal forbears as far as he can remember. But if he is related through mother or grandmother to a chief he usually volunteers this fact as part of his *ekokolō*; and questions always elicit some knowledge of his mother's paternal kinsfolk and a statement that "they are my *ekokolō* too." Descendants of a common grandfather (either paternal or maternal) are to-day forbidden to marry, and no case of infringement has come to my notice; descendants of a common great-grandfather are supposed not to marry but, I am told,

they sometimes do so before the relationship is discovered, and then simply drink a protective medicine but do not break the marriage. The old men speak of a now abandoned custom of preferential cross-cousin marriage.

The bond between a man and his mother's brother (*omwipwa*) is mainly constituted by the passage of cattle. "My real mother's brother," they say "is the one who took the bulk of the marriage-cattle which my father gave for my mother", and it is between this particular brother and a woman's eldest son that the bond is strongest. Because this brother of his mother has taken "our cattle" and married with them the young man has a certain right of making free with his property during his life, the right to receive from him one cow to set up a herd of his own with, and a residuary right of inheritance if this uncle dies childless and leaves no brothers. If his mother's brother does die without other heirs, it is only the particular wife obtained with and the particular progeny of his father's marriage-cattle that the young man can claim.

Ceremonies, and particularly funerals, are the occasions on which the effective relatives of any one family meet all together, both kinsmen and affines. I have even heard kinship defined by attendance at funerals: One man argued that he was not related to another because, though they were admittedly genealogically related they did not attend the funerals in each other's families and were not therefore really kinsmen at all.

Known blood-kinship is a common occasion of friendship, but it does not necessarily produce it, while the absence of friendship can render many of the normal kinship bonds quite inoperative. We have seen already that quarrels may destroy the relationship between half-brothers and lead to a judicial separation. On the other hand, I have observed two men meet for the first time, discover a common great-grandfather and at once become friends. A few months later the sister of one of them died and the other went to the funeral and behaved there like a close kinsman.

Proximity is another factor of great importance in the relations of kinsfolk, for while nearness of dwelling does not always make for friendship, yet a considerable distance tends to lessen it and to make attendance at funerals impossible.

One of the most stringent taboos in Nyakyusa life is that which separates father and daughter-in-law. A woman may never speak to, approach, or look at her husband's father. If she does it is believed that she will die, through the witchcraft of indignant neighbours, a painful and lingering death. And the taboo is extended from her own father-in-

law to all his classificatory brothers. The normal routine of life is constantly interrupted by women's avoidance of these men, they crouch and hide and make wide detours to avoid them, a man comes into a room and a woman runs out hastily, a father cannot enter his son's house while his son's wives are cooking there, ceremonies are duplicated to avoid bringing them in contact. Few people seem to realize the meaning of this taboo, but occasionally a man is found who tells a story which makes its function abundantly clear. It is said that an old chief, long ago before the taboo was instituted, fell in love with his son's wife and took her, and such was the horror of everyone at what he had done that this taboo was instituted. This story expresses the necessity, in a society where the old men are accustomed to take the young women as wives, of guarding in some way against the possibility of a father desiring his own son's wife for himself; more particularly perhaps because the cows for her marriage have come from him.

This taboo, separating father and daughter-in-law is one of the reasons for the age-village system which we must next discuss. For in Nyakyusa society father and son live in different villages.

Age-Villages

The most characteristic relationships of the Nyakyusa people are those which centre in the age-village. Villages and age-groups are common enough in other societies, and are familiar to all of us, but it is rare to find them combined; it is very uncommon to find, as we do among the Nyakyusa, that local groups of contemporaries live together for most or all of their lives.

Age-villages are formed by groups of men, all roughly of the same age, their wives and young children. Women belong to the villages of their husbands, young children to those of their fathers. The number of households in an age-village varies, but thirty is probably a fair average. Girls, as we have seen, live at home until they marry, which they normally do soon after puberty, and then each goes to the house and joins the village of her husband. But boys, who marry later in life, leave home at about the age of ten or eleven and set up villages of their own.

(a) Herd-Boys

Between the ages of about six and eleven the boys sleep at their fathers' houses and herd their fathers' cattle. This is a full-time if not a very arduous occupation; the cattle are driven out about an hour after sunrise and return to be milked about 1 p.m.; after an hour they are again driven out and do not come back until nearly sunset. The cattle of eight

to twelve neighbours are usually herded together by their young sons ; and so these boys spend all the day together for several years of their lives. This group of boys is the germ of the future age-village ; it is a community with a common activity in the herding of the cattle, with a leader and with laws and customs of its own.

“ When we herd cows as boys ” a friend of mine told me “ there is always one who is obeyed by his fellows whatever he says. No one chooses him, he gains his leadership and his prestige by bodily strength. For always, when we are all boys together among the cows, we vie with one another and dispute about going to turn back straying cattle or about fetching fire to cook the food we have brought with us. And so we start fighting, and we go on fighting until one of us beats all his fellows completely and so becomes the leader. And then it is he who sends the others to turn back straying cattle, to fetch fire and to collect firewood. And he is greatly respected. He settles quarrels too. What we quarrel about most as boys is a particular insult ; one says to another : ‘ You are only a child, you are, I am your senior.’ This is always happening and then it is the part of the one who is leader to set those two on to fight. We all stand round and watch and the one who first cries is proved the child.”

The herd-boys of my own acquaintance, a group of eleven altogether, told me that besides insulting one another like this, boys often cause trouble in their little community by stealing cow-bells from one another's cattle and hiding them away for future use. And one day, when I visited the local herd, the leader of the herd-boys told me they had caught two boys drowning a sheep that morning so as to be able to pretend it had drowned itself by accident, and then they would have had some of the meat to eat. “ We beat them very much,” he told me, and he called one of the culprits to come and exhibit his weals. The leader further explained to me that such cases would not ever be reported at home, unless the culprits themselves complained to their parents that they had been unjustly beaten, “ then,” he said, “ I should explain what they had done, and they would get beaten again ! ”

The time that is not spent in herding cows, in arranging and watching duels and in punishing wrongdoers, is spent in playing various games, occasionally in pitched battles with neighbouring herd-boys, and in cooking and eating small amounts of food brought from home.

Friendships formed between members of this group sometimes last a lifetime. An old man once said to me of a friend of his who had died : “ We herded cows together when we were boys.”

As the boys one by one reach the age of ten or eleven, two important changes usually take place in their lives. Firstly they leave the herding of cows to their younger brothers, and themselves begin the business of hoeing the fields which will occupy them until they die ; and secondly they no longer sleep in the houses of their fathers but join an age-village of boys. These two changes usually, but not always, take place at the same time and normally at about the age of ten or eleven years, well before puberty. But there are cases where special circumstances put the age of one or both of these changes later ; I know one boy who herds his father's cattle although he has reached puberty, because he has no younger brother old enough to take over, and there are only five or six boys in his herd-group altogether. And in general I am told it is not uncommon for some boys who have reached puberty to be found still herding cattle. Again in one age-village the boys leave home a little later than usual because there are leopards about and it is dangerous for small boys to walk from the village of their fathers to that of the boys after dark.

(b) *The Boys' Village*

When a fair number of the sons of a village of married men have reached the right age, their fathers give them a piece of land to one side of the parent village on which to build. There they build little huts of reeds for themselves, sufficiently well-thatched to keep out the heavy rain, and there they sleep. The building of the huts on this land begins, in a playful manner, before the boys move. While they are still herding the cows and sleeping at home they build miniature huts there in their spare time, but do not sleep in them. When they move they build slightly more substantial huts with a better thatch. Until he marries each boy hoes his father's fields in his father's village and eats food cooked by his own mother at his father's house. But he sleeps with his friends. Thus between the time when he leaves home and his marriage each is a member of two villages, economically he still belongs to that of his father, socially to that of his own contemporaries. Though bachelors eat at their parents' homes, it is very rarely that they do not eat in the company of their own friends. A bachelor does not simply go home to eat but a group of bachelors, friends of the same boys'-village, go round together eating at the house of each one's mother in turn.

In an age-village of married men there are always several different herds of cattle ; and it is not only those from the same group of herd-boys that set up a new village together, but all the sons of the age-village. When a boy leaves the herd-group he joins a larger community, including the friends of his own age who have herded cows with him, but many

others as well. Any boys' village is found to consist primarily of the sons of the members of some older village who originally gave the land for its building, but as we shall see later sons of other villages live there too.

At the beginning, when a group of boys starts a new age-village, or when boys join one already formed, they do not all have a hut to themselves, two or three friends share a hut. But later, as they grow older, each builds for himself. The younger ones build their huts of reeds, but the older ones try to get a few bamboos from their fathers or senior relatives and build more solid houses. Married men build entirely of bamboo, but often in a boys' village you will find a compromise between bamboo and reed, both being used in the same house; and the houses of bachelors, even though they be all of bamboo, are smaller than those of married men. The technique of good building is not very difficult, and the older boys instruct and help their juniors, as they join the village, to improve the skill playfully acquired as herd-boys so as to build more substantial huts.

The chief food of the Nyakyusa is the banana; men plant bananas immediately round their huts, though their fields are mostly at a distance. And bachelors, while they continue to eat their main meals at their parents' village, plant bananas round their own huts as well. Bananas begin to bear very quickly, sometimes within a year of planting, and so, soon after the establishment of a boys' village, its members have bananas of their own, which they cook for themselves and eat with their friends at odd times during the day. But they have as yet no fields.

There is no formal initiation of boys at puberty; but, on the other hand, the custom of leaving home and joining a boys' village is directly connected by the Nyakyusa with their ideas of decency in sexual life. They think it is perfectly all right to discuss sex openly among friends of about the same age but altogether wrong to discuss it either in the presence of, or with, their parents or those of their parents' generation. If a boy learns about love-making, in any way, from his parents the Nyakyusa think that he will not respect them properly and that he himself will be a fool. A boy must learn these things from his immediate seniors and friends. One man said to me: "If a boy after about ten years old stays at home to sleep, he is laughed at by his friends and his own parents send him away. They say: 'If he sleeps at home he will hear what his parents talk about at night, the night is always full of lewd talk; and he may even see them undressing. He will grow up a fool, with little wisdom.' You see at the boys' village" he went on to say, "the older

boys tell all sorts of stories, especially about women, they discuss love-making and women, and tell tales of their own conquests. The younger ones listen to these things and that is all right in the boys' village, that is how we learn. But we compare in our minds and think that if a boy stays at home it is as if he listened to all this from his parents, and people always do talk lewdly at night ; and that is very bad, that is foolishness.— But in the boys' village it is good for the young ones to listen, that is how children grow up."

On another occasion when I told this same man that in Europe many people thought it a good thing for boys to get sexual instruction from their parents and teachers he was shocked: " But I think it is impossible " he protested " for parents to go into detail with their children ; there is too much shame on both sides. And if they did, it would damage the children's respect for them."

There is thus a correlation in this society between the age-village system at its genesis and the belief that a boy's dawning interest in sex must be informed, not by his parents, but by friends only a little older than himself.

Few men marry before twenty-five years of age, but affairs with girls begin before puberty. All affairs are related in detail to friends in the age-village, and the younger ones learn by listening ; and they also learn when the older boys send them as messengers to the girls of their fancy.

Besides the more serious love affairs which are carried on in secret, groups of boys from the same age-village commonly flirt with any girls they meet on the way, and it is then that the incest taboos are learnt. If one of the boys is known to be related to one of the girls, either through a common grandfather or great-grandfather, his companions send him away : " Don't you see your sister is here ? You cannot come ! "

Contrary to a general belief about " primitive " societies, homosexual intercourse is common in the boys' villages, between close friends, but there is no real perversion ; homosexuality is said to be always *faute de mieux*. The older men in discussion dismiss it with the tolerant word " adolescence," it is never continued after marriage, and all except the feeble-minded get married sooner or later.

But life in a boys' village also gives its members much information and wisdom unconnected with sex. There, as we have seen, boys perfect their skill in building, and there also they learn to argue and express themselves with adult fluency. It is characteristic of the Nyakyusa legal

system that small cases between neighbours are always first discussed and often finally settled in the presence of some friend or friends who act as arbitrators, without recourse to the constituted political authorities. Small disputes about petty theft, the possession of a cloth or some coppers, the ownership of a banana stem and so on, are as frequent in the boys' village as elsewhere, and as elsewhere the people concerned often argue it out to a finish before some friend or neighbour. And by listening to such disputes, or participating in them either as judge or principal, the boys acquire rhetorical skill and some knowledge of law. In some boys' villages there is a recognized leader appointed by the political authorities of the chiefdom to settle graver disputes, in others there is not. The position of such a leader, where there is one, will be discussed later.

Above all the boys' village gives to its members the conversation and company of more of their own contemporaries than did the group of herd boys, and company the Nyakyusa hold to be the greatest of educators. In the most explicit discourse I heard on the value of company my informant explained that cleanliness, together with rhetorical and conversational skill, were all learned in company. These are his exact words: "We say that it is by conversing with our friends that we gain wisdom; it is bad to sit quite silent always in men's company. A man who does this seems to us a fool, he learns no wisdom, he has only his own thoughts. And a man who does not spend time with other people is always dirty, he does not compare himself with any friend. We say that we learn cleanliness of body in company, the dirty ones learn from their more cleanly friends. Again if a man is accused to the chief and is unable to defend himself easily and with eloquence we mock at him and say: 'What is the matter with you? Do you live all by yourself? How is it that you are so foolish?' We think that wisdom and cleanliness are the two great things learnt in company. We think it is bad to live alone far from other people, such a man learns nothing; he never learns to express himself well, to converse pleasantly with friends or to argue a case with eloquence. It is better to live with other people."

At first the sons of the parent village continue to join the boys' village as they grow up; but after some years, when the senior members of the boys' village are about seventeen or eighteen years old, the younger ones begin to be refused admittance to the village: "they are children." The young ones then either begin a new age-village of their own, or else join a village which has already been started by the sons of a nearby men's village a little junior to that of their own fathers. If you enquire who are the members of such and such a boys' village you are always told that they are the sons of a particular village of men, but detailed investiga-

tion reveals the presence of some sons of other men's villages as well. Brothers, half-brothers and other relatives are sometimes members of the same village, but more often not; and if they do belong to the same village that is because they are near each other in age, and were born in the same village, not because they are kinsmen.

The members of the boys' village, which is now closed and no longer increases in numbers, continue to grow older, and after a time they begin to get married. Getting married, as we have seen, is often a gradual process; but it is not until he has his wife permanently with him that a young man can have fields of his own and eat their produce at his own place. The cultivation of land requires the co-operation of man and woman, cooking on any elaborate scale is a woman's business.

As the members of a boys' village marry the village does not move but it expands. The houses are built ever bigger and further apart and the adjacent land is brought under cultivation. The boys' village with which I am best acquainted is in this transitional stage; it has fifty-three members altogether, the majority of whom are single, but some few are married, cultivate their own fields with their wives and eat food cooked by their wives in their own houses. Of those who are single some again are betrothed to girls who visit them from time to time, but each still cultivates his father's fields, and eats at his father's home.

(c) *The Men's Village*

It is now necessary to understand the system of men's villages and the general political organization in which the boys' villages finally take their place.

The number of age-villages in one chiefdom, all the members of which are married, varies with different circumstances, but the most usual number is from six to twelve. The age system is only broken by moving or by death; when a man dies his heir usually comes and lives where the dead man was living in his age-village. There he inherits the wives, the huts, the cows and the land of his predecessor, he inherits the dead man's position in the village and often takes his personal name as well. The heir may be many years younger than his new neighbours but he is now treated as their contemporary, he sits with them at ceremonies, he shares their rights at any division of meat. The age system in the villages is also broken by moving, for a stranger may come and be granted land in a village even though he is considerably older or younger than the bulk of its members. But otherwise members of a village are roughly contemporaries.

In a village of married men each has one or more bamboo huts for himself and his wives, with bananas round them ; his homestead is close to those of his neighbours, while the main garden-lands of the whole group are at a distance all together. Boundaries between age-villages are not always apparent to a stranger, a solid hundred acres or so of houses and bananas may turn out to consist of two or three villages, each with its own organization, and each having a block of garden-lands separate from the others.

In each village of married men, and usually in the older boys' villages as well, there is an appointed leader or great commoner (*olifumu*) who is originally chosen for the position by the great commoners of the senior age-villages of that chiefdom. They try to select a man who is wealthy, who comes from a respected family, who has personal ability in judging cases, who is popular with his fellows, and in the old days they looked also for qualities of courage and the ability to lead men in war. I think, though my evidence for this is as yet only circumstantial, that they also require certain believed spiritual qualities in a man, the power to recognize and to counteract aggressive witchcraft.¹² The qualities which the selectors look for in choosing a new great commoner are the clue to his functions. He is usually extremely hospitable to his neighbours, he judges their cases, he is their leader at ceremonies and in the old days he led them in war also. He represents their desires to the chief and it is through him and in consultation with him that the chief gives orders. Finally each great commoner is believed to protect his own villagers from aggressive witchcraft, to shield people and cattle from the spiritual forces of evil.

So important is this position of great commoner that legal precautions are taken "to prevent the great commoner becoming a chief" as several informants have put it to me. It is illegal to choose a great commoner from among the kinsmen of a chief, it is illegal to elect the son of a great commoner to that office in any age-village of his own contemporaries, though he may perhaps inherit the position in his father's village when his father dies.

The relationships which arise from common membership of an age-village are continually apparent in the Nyakyusa culture. Ceremonies and funerals are not only meeting places for relatives but also for the age-villagers ; the great commoner in consultation with members of his village grants land and grazing rights to strangers who ask for them ; and

¹² It is possible that this power is believed to be induced by magic later, I am not sure.

he settles many legal disputes between his neighbours. The village is, both for men and women, the chief field of friendship, conversation and mutual hospitality ; and its members recognize greater obligations towards one another than they do towards those outside. Before the coming of the Europeans the age-village was also a military unit, led by its own great commoner, in the constant fights between chiefdoms.

In most villages there are several herds of cattle which feed separately. The herd boys, as we have seen, thus form separate groups within the village, so also do their fathers ; the boys are related in the common activity of herding, the men, owners of the herd, by their joint interest in it and their common fear of witchcraft.

In the relationships of villagers the belief in witchcraft is a constantly recurring factor. It is believed that certain people, both men and women have the power of harming their neighbours and their neighbours' cattle without taking any overt action whatever, without reciting any spells or performing any magical ritual at all.

Their influence, which is exercised at night in dreams, is only fully visible to those who are themselves endowed with this power ; and to it is constantly attributed both sickness in men and the failure of cows to give milk. In this belief the elements of actual ill will and quarreling, of actual sickness and the failure of cows to give milk and of actual dream experiences are combined in a significant whole. Witches are of two kinds, they say, those who use their power rightly (*ava mɛŋga*) and those who use it wrongly (*avalɔsi*). The first kind are said generally to spend their dreams in trying to prevent the others from harming those whom they hate. The good witches are the "defenders of the village," and in each village the great commoner is believed to be the first among them. In each group of men whose cows are herded together there is, again, commonly one man who has the reputation of defender of the herd, who is believed to protect the cows from the witchcraft of disgruntled individuals whether members of that small group or not. But if, at any time, a single person earns a general unpopularity in the village, whether by his pride, his meanness or by wrongdoing, then it is believed that the defenders themselves lead the spiritual attack against him, and he falls sick. Such a blast of unpopularity acting through the power of witchcraft is called the "breath of men" (*embepɔ sya vandu*) ; and the belief in its efficacy is one of the chief sanctions of the accepted social order of Nyakyusa life.¹³

¹³ c.f. Godfrey Wilson "An African Morality" *Africa* Jan. 1936.

The Chieftdom and Wider Groups(a) *The "Coming Out"*

Space forbids a full description of the relationships of villagers in all their intricate detail, but a short description of the "Coming Out" (*ovosoka*) which is at the same time the most important legal act and the most exciting ceremonial of Nyakyusa life, will, I hope, make the nature of the age-village completely clear, and will also provide us with an easy transition to the discussion of the organization of the chieftdom (*ekisu*).

I have never seen a "Coming Out" properly; on one occasion I travelled to see one and arrived just a day late when all the important action and ceremonial was over, but I have had it fully described to me at different times by several people. Every chief (*omalafyale*) is normally succeeded in his chieftainship by two sons, who divide his country between them. There are sometimes exceptions to this: in very large chieftdoms three or even four sons sometimes succeed, each taking a portion of the country; and in minor chieftdoms, that is in small chieftdoms which have come under the dominion of a neighbouring and powerful chief, only one son of the minor chief succeeds to the whole of that country.¹⁴ But the rule is that two sons divide the country of their father. This rule worked well in the old days, for till quite lately the Nyakyusa have been an expanding people in a district too large for their needs; and the combined countries of the two sons nearly always, in the old days, covered a greater area of effective occupation than the country of their father which they had divided. Now saturation point is approaching, or has come, and the rule makes for ever smaller and smaller chieftdoms. Various forces are tending to the alteration of the rule, but it is still a vital part of the constitution. (*vide infra*.)

The "Coming Out" (*ovosoka*) is a series of legal acts by which the country of an old chief and his great commoners is, with certain reservations, divided and handed over into the possession and control of his two sons and their respective great commoners. These legal acts are accompanied by much pomp and ceremony. It is at once the initiation of all the youth of the old chieftdom into public life, the constitution of two new political units and the proclamation of two new chiefs. The "Coming Out" not only consists of a series of legal acts and public ceremonies, but of religious ritual as well, action is taken to increase the personal qualities appropriate in a chief and his great commoners by magical means.

¹⁴ These minor chieftdoms have nothing to do with the present system of subordinating some chiefs to others (*vide infra*. sec. (b))

When the eldest sons of his contemporaries reach the age of about 33-35 years the old chief is approached by his great commoners who say : " The sons have grown up, let us make the ' Coming Out ' for them." After a period of delay, for he is unwilling to relinquish his own honour and power, the old chief agrees, and the " Coming Out " takes place. His two heirs, together with all the boys and young men, whether married or single, who are sons of the old chief's contemporaries, are summoned to attend, according to their age-villages, at the old chief's principal house. When they arrive they wait there for two days, while the old great commoners discuss with their chief where to give the young men land, and whom they will select as great commoners of the young villages. We have already noted the principles which guide their choice of leaders. In many of the young village groups there are already leaders who have been previously appointed by the old great commoners, but these leaders are, I am told, only temporary, they are never reappointed at the " Coming Out ; " at the " Coming Out " " everything is made new," the boundaries of the young age-villages are redrawn, and new great commoners appointed in them ; only the groups of young men themselves remain unchanged.

The legal action which now takes place comprizes three events : firstly the public selection of new great commoners, secondly the public appearance and the public recognition of the two young chiefs, and thirdly the giving of land to the young age villages.

When the old men have made up their minds, one of them goes among the crowd of young men and catches hold of those they have chosen in order of their seniority : First the one who is to be leader of the senior village of the first son of the old chief, then the leader of the senior village of his second son, then the leader of the next senior village of the first son, and so on. There are usually eight age-villages of young men, of these four will belong to the chiefdom of the first son, four to that of the second. The eight new great commoners are now publicly known, four in each new chiefdom.

The next stage of the action is the one from which the whole institution takes its name ; the " Coming Out." The two young chiefs are secluded for a few hours in the hut of the old chief's first wife, there they receive various forms of magical treatment and when it is finished, " then," to quote the words of a great commoner who told me about his own coming out, " the director of ceremonies said : ' Get up ! ' the chiefs got up, and came out of the house to us, and we, the crowd of young men, said : ' Come on ! ' and welcomed them. Then we all ran shouting and calling the war cry towards the next chiefdom. In the old days we would

have invaded that country for cows and brought them back and eaten them at the new huts which we built next. But that is finished now." In this way the new chiefs are shown to their people.

Finally the young men are told exactly where to go and build, and the boundaries between the new chiefdoms and the villages of each are fixed; the old boys' villages are abandoned and the houses gradually pulled down and put up in their new places. At first the men of the four age-villages of each young chief just put up rough shelters to sleep in, all together on the place where the senior age-village of each new chiefdom will later be built, but after a month or two they separate, each village to its own place, and there they build their houses.

The land is now their own, they are no longer members of boys' villages, living on land given them at the side of the parent villages by their fathers, they are owners of the soil, full citizens, with chief and great commoners to rule them.

(b) *Organization and Life of a single Chiefdom*

A few months after the "Coming Out" each of the two young chiefs marries two wives. He may be married already, but the two whom he now takes rank as his great wives (*avehe avakolombu*) and their sons are his two heirs in the chieftainship. Young girls, daughters of neighbouring chiefs, are carried off with a show of force from their fathers' homes by the young chief's men, who, themselves, later send cows to regularize the position. The two great wives are thus married, not with the cows of their husband, but with those of the men whose sons their sons will one day rule.

Girls are carried off who are just about to reach puberty, and they stay at the house of one of the men of the old chief until their periods begin. When both have reached puberty they are initiated, not at their fathers' houses, but in the country of their husband, both together. At their initiation, the old men and women of the country (contemporaries of the old, retiring, chief) play the part normally played by a girl's parents and their neighbours, while the young chief and his men take the usual part of a husband and his friends. And then, after the ceremonies are over, the two girls are given to the young chief as his wives. Houses are built for them separately: in the senior age-village of the new chiefdom for the first wife, in the next senior village for the second wife; and in this separation of dwelling place is already apparent the future division of the chiefdom between their sons.

Within the chiefdom, and among the wives and children of the chief, two "sides" (*embafu*) are recognized. In the normal country there are, at its beginning, two age-villages and half the wives of the chief on either side; for the junior wives, as they are married, are attached in a recognized order of seniority to one or the other of the two great wives, and have their own houses near them. This distinction of two sides is important in succession. If one of the two great wives bears no son, then the great commoners of the chiefdom often publicly accept the son of the next senior wife on that side as the heir to that half of the country; and, even if they do not do so during the old chief's lifetime, such a man has always a strong claim to the succession. And the two heirs each rank as head of one side of their father's family when he and his full-brothers are all dead.

Between the time of the two young chiefs' "Coming Out" and their own father's death there is, between him and them, a delicate balance of prestige and power. Each of the three, traditionally, has political authority in his own age-villages, but appeals in difficult cases may be taken from either of the young chiefs and their great commoners to the old chief and his great commoners, while the religious duties of chieftanship are exercised entirely by the old chief. During this transition period the functions of chieftanship are divided between three men, each with his own great commoners to assist him. It is necessary to understand that an old chief is believed usually to die soon after the "Coming Out" of his sons. The "breath" (i.e. witchcraft) of the people is believed to kill him because men love his sons rather than himself. When I asked about one chief (Mwakalukwa) who did not die till about fifteen years after the "Coming Out" of his sons, I was told that his was an exceptional case; "The people loved him very much because he helped them with the Government." None the less such exceptions are not unusual. But, in any case, it is commonly said that "after his sons' 'Coming Out' the old chief's power decreases, while that of his sons increases." When he dies his wives and cows are inherited by his full-brother, and to this brother also passes the religious leadership of both the two new chiefdoms, but all general or political power now normally¹⁵ passes to the two sons. The period of transition is over, and the control of the age-villages of old men now passes to the two young chiefs and their great commoners, half to each side. The great commoners of the old chief, relinquishing most of their secular functions to their successors, enter upon new religious duties as priests in the worship of the chief who has just died, and this priesthood, as we shall see, they hand on to their

¹⁵ Certain recent events have altered the working of this rule in some chiefdoms, (*vide infra*.)

sons. To the dead chief's full-brother go his wives and cattle, so that property and power are usually inherited separately; in all the cases which I have investigated however, this brother has himself given some of the cows to the young chiefs, but the reasons for his action are still obscure to me. In so far as the dead chief's brother is still the religious head of both chiefdoms the functions of chieftanship may be said still to be divided; but all the secular functions are now normally exercised by the young chiefs. And the religious functions also fall to them when all their father's full-brothers are dead.

Political authority is the general authority of one or more persons within a community, whether local or nomadic, which goes beyond the bounds of a single family; a leadership confined to no one type of behaviour, but ordering a variety of social activities. Such an authority is wielded by a Nyakyusa chief, together with his great commoners, in his own chiefdom. There a number of legal, economic, religious¹⁶ and ceremonial activities are controlled by them; and there, before the coming of the Europeans, they had military leadership also. But before that event no man had any wide political authority beyond the single chiefdom. The chiefs of Lubaga¹⁷ had a far-reaching religious pre-eminence, but no general or political influence at all beyond their own country.

The only extensions of political power beyond a single chiefdom before European times, as far as I know, arose from the rivalry of brother chiefs. The division of an old chief's country into two was not always accepted by the young men concerned; quarrels and fighting between them were common, and the position established at the "Coming Out" was sometimes modified by war. If one of the two decisively defeated the other, he took all his brother's cows and reduced him to a subordinate position. The land of the Nyakyusa is full of such minor chiefdoms; by the clerks who collect tax they are described as "villages," but they are radically different from villages in their constitution. For, while they often consist only of a few score families, they are themselves articulated into age-villages and have at their head, not an elected great commoner (*olifumu*) but a hereditary chief (*omalafyale*). A minor chief marries in the ordinary way, like a commoner, and only one of his sons inherits his chieftanship; while his chiefdom, owing to its small size, is often simply divided into two villages, one for the old, one for the young men. To-day his position carries with it neither wealth nor power; he has some authority over his own people, but less than the great commoners of his powerful

¹⁶ I am now speaking of the position of a chief after his father and all his father's full-brothers are dead, and before his own sons have "come out."

¹⁷ *Vide infra*, sec: (c)

kinsman. Though some of the reasons for his subordination are to be found in modern conditions, it is clear that many of the factors have always operated.

Wars did not only occur between brothers; but when one chief defeated another who was more distantly related to him, he did not, apparently ever, reduce him to a minor position: He either took his cows and then left him alone, or killed him and set up a brother of his own as an independent though allied chief, or else, more rarely, killed him, took over the country and directly incorporated it in his own. So that, apart from the subordination of a defeated brother and his heirs, political authority always stopped at the boundaries of each separate chiefdom.¹⁸

The traditionally independent chiefdoms to-day vary in numbers from 100 to about 3,000 adult men.

The coming of the German Administration in 1893 introduced a paramount political authority, for the first time, in the persons of European officials; while in 1926, a generation later, the British Administration created new Native Authorities under the District Officer and superior to the chiefs. The traditionally independent chiefs were grouped together in eleven court districts, in each district a "Native Court" was set up, consisting of the various chiefs and their great commoners, under the hereditary presidency of one of the chiefs, who thereby became senior to all the others in that court district. Salaries for chiefs have been introduced, and the senior chiefs receive far higher salaries than the others; while the meetings of each Court are always held in the territory of the senior chief (*omalafyale oykolomba*); and to it has now been transferred a great deal of the legal business which, before 1926, was transacted by each chief sitting with his own great commoners in his own chiefdom. The chiefs themselves were consulted in the selection of the Court Presidents, and those chosen were normally the chiefs with the greatest number of men in each particular court district.

In this account the term *senior chief* (*omalafyale oykolomba*) denotes the President of a Native Court, *chief* (*omalafyale*) means one of the traditionally independent chiefs, while *minor chief* (*omalafyale onnandi*) means one of the subordinate chiefs, often with only 40-60 men under him.

The introduction of Courts and salaries has brought an entirely new element into the relationship between old and young chiefs (*vide*

¹⁸ Among the Konde of Nyasaland, I am told, there was a paramount chief Kyungu, with a far-reaching political authority; but there was no such chief among the Nyakyusa.

supra). Only one of them can receive the salary and they commonly dispute about it. Quarrels are particularly frequent over the position of senior chief, for the presidency of a Court carries with it a relatively large salary. Old senior chiefs cling to the position long after their sons have "come out" and when they die their full-brothers still dispute the position with the sons because of the salary involved. Such a situation could not have arisen before 1926, for then there was no comparable issue between them.

And the introduction of salaries has also had a most profound effect upon the relative status of the two young chiefs who "come out" together. When an ordinary chief, with a small salary, dies the Government recognizes the first son alone as chief and pays the whole salary to him. This reduces the second son to the position of a minor chief as effectively as a defeat in war might have done in the old days. But, while the action of warfare only occasionally led to the subordination of one of the brothers, this action of the Government does so invariably, and always subordinates the younger brother. When a senior chief dies, on the other hand, the salary is usually divided; the bulk of it goes to the first son, together with the position of senior chief, while to the second son is given the salary of an ordinary chief.

As the prestige and authority of a father in his family, or of a man among his neighbours, is closely connected with his wealth on the one hand, and with his believed religious powers on the other, so also the status of a chief among his people. He has more cows, more wives, more food than other men; he is spiritually responsible for the fertility of the land, the women and the cattle of his chiefdom. But he is no autocrat, and all his public functions require for their exercise the co-operation of his great commoners.

Polygyny is, above all, the mark of a chief. Few commoners have more than five or six wives, but a chief frequently marries fifteen, thirty, fifty or even more; his wives weed and plant the fields which their unmarried sons hoe, and there is plenty of food for guests. Chiefs themselves hoe when they have time, and often they employ a poor man to hoe for them as well, rewarding him after a year or two with a cow. It is not possible for one man to satisfy so many women sexually, and it is generally said that every chief's wife, save the five or six who are his favourites, has a lover. But intrigues must be carried on with care, for their discovery means a great public scandal.

The extent of a chief's polygyny is conditioned by his control of cattle, and his income in cattle is derived mainly from inheritance and the

marriages of his kinswomen. When his father dies his father's wives and cows pass to his father's full-brother, but they come to him and his brother eventually when this man dies. While, if the young chiefs have "come out" it is common for their father's brother to hand over some, or even the bulk of the cattle, to them before his own death. And in his own half of the family, among his siblings and half-siblings on that side, a chief has far greater rights both of inheritance and of receiving marriage-cattle, than those possessed by the senior son of a commoner. So much is clear from my evidence, but it is not yet sufficiently detailed for an exact statement of rules.

Before 1893 fighting between chiefdoms was common and, except between brother chiefs, the usual aim of fighting was, not conquest, but cows; wars were generally just cattle raids. And a substantial proportion of the cows captured in a successful raid went to increase the herds of the chief. This lost source of income is now supplied by Government salaries, which vary from 5/- to £15 a month.¹⁹ The price of a cow is £2; but many shillings are spent on clothes, bicycles and beer, as well as on cows.

A chief, like any other rich man, maintains his prestige by hospitality, he constantly entertains his more notable subjects with beer, at the ceremonies of his family all his people gather in their age-villages and he kills cattle for them to eat. Chiefs seldom nowadays kill cattle except on ceremonial occasions, but in the old days of warfare they used also, I am told, to entertain their subjects with meat from time to time, in order to keep up their spirits for fighting. History is full of stories of Nyakyusa chiefs who attracted many men to their countries, and so gained great military strength, by the generosity and abundance of their feasts.

Every time a man or woman dies, a message must be sent to the chief, and at the burial he is given the whole breast and ribs (*akakwa*) of one of the cows which are killed by the family of the dead person at that time. He has the right to take food or milk from any of his subjects if he has need of it; but he cannot take any man's beast without later returning another to him.

Apart from the now abandoned pursuit of cattle raiding the only profitable enterprizes in which the members of a whole chiefdom jointly participate are those of hunting and fishing; in some chiefdoms, but not

¹⁹Salaries above £1 a month are only paid to senior chiefs. No minor chief gets a Government salary, nor do great-commoners. The local value of money is shown (a) by the tax (8/- p.a.), (b) by the wages of unskilled labour (6/- to 8/- p.m.)

all, hunting is organized like warfare and fishing is a joint endeavour, both ordered by the chief.

Every chief has a title of ownership (*obwene nakyo*) to the land of his chieftdom and can evict any man he pleases, (giving him another plot), if he wishes to build there himself ; but his people also have titles of ownership to it, both collectively, under the leadership of the great commoners, and individually, each man to his own ground. It is the great commoners who, in consultation with their neighbours, give to the sons of each village land on which to build ; it is they who, together, finally fix the boundaries of the young men's villages at their " Coming Out ; " it is they who, again in consultation with their neighbours, grant land to strangers who ask for it, though they must notify the chief and get his approval before doing so.

As the single great commoners settle disputes within their own villages so the chief and great commoners together hear and decide cases within the chieftdom. Many of these legal actions are now settled in the Courts, but not all of them ; and, even when cases are going to Court, preliminary hearings commonly take place before the chief, first. Cases are conducted and witnesses interrogated by chief and great commoners together, and the decision which the chief pronounces is an expression of their general opinion.

Among the great commoners there is an order of seniority. The leaders of the two senior age-villages of the chief's own men play a prominent part at his " Coming Out," they each have a pre-eminent authority in one side of his chieftdom, and the other great commoners rank as their juniors, some on one side, some on the other. In the old days the two senior great commoners each led a whole side of the chieftdom in war.

The two most effective checks on the power of a chief are migration and witchcraft. Military strength used to depend upon the number of a chief's adherents, to-day the scale of his salary is similarly dependent ; men are quite free to move, and there is a constant flow of adherents from unpopular to popular chiefs. But unpopularity is most feared in its spiritual form of witchcraft. We have seen already that an adverse current of opinion is believed to act invisibly, as the " breath of men," against an unpopular member of a village and to make him sick. So also the adverse opinion of a single village or of a whole chieftdom is believed to have power against a chief, to bring sickness or even death upon him. As in the single village, so in the whole chieftdom the great commoners are the prime sources of this spiritual power ; they are believed severally to protect the members of their own villages and jointly to protect their

chief from the wanton attacks of witches ; but if ever there is a just ground of offence they are believed to join their own power of witchcraft in the general attack. I know one chief who dare not give a judgement in a dispute between two of his villages for fear of the indignant witchcraft of the losing side. And a general unpopularity is believed always to lead, sooner or later to a chief's death.

Chiefs also, like other men, fear the use of sorcery (i.e. destructive magic) against them, and use a number of protective " medicines " (i.e. materials of magic) to protect themselves from it. They also use powerful " medicines " to give themselves personal impressiveness, prestige and authority among their people.

While in the families of commoners an ancestral spirit is only believed to affect the lives of his own descendants, the ancestors of a chief, on the other hand, are supposed to influence, for good or ill, the fortunes of whole chiefdoms. Rain and good crops, the fertility of women and cattle are dependent upon their good will, which in its turn is believed to depend upon a recurrent sacrifice of cows. And for this sacrifice the chiefs, their living descendants, are responsible.²⁰ But, owing to the continuous division of chiefdoms every generation, several chiefs are concerned in each sacrifice ; every dead chief is a source of misfortune or of blessing in the countries of all his direct descendants. And so the discussion of this part of the Nyakyusa religion leads us to the investigation of the groups which extend beyond the boundaries of a single chiefdom.

(c) *Groups wider than the Chiefdom*

When a chief dies he is buried near the house of his senior great wife and trees are planted on his grave. The trees grow and form a sacred grove (*elisyeto*) hedged by taboos. Each of these groves is at first the religious centre of two, later of a number of chiefdoms, and in them the sacrifices are made. Responsibility for finding the cow for sacrifice in a particular grove rests with one of the living chiefs concerned, but responsibility for initiating the ritual and performing it lies not only with the chiefs but also with the hereditary priests (*avanyago*) in each chiefdom. These hereditary priests are descended, some from the great commoners of the dead chief who is buried in that particular grove, some from his half-brothers. The ritual is esoteric, there is no gathering of the people at the sacrifice, and only chiefs and those with hereditary priesthoods

²⁰ I am speaking here of the religious customs of the Nyakyusa proper and the Selya people, I believe those of the Kukwe and Mwamba are very similar, but I have not studied them in detail.

come to it. But, on the other hand, everyone knows when a sacrifice is taking place, and, in spite of the influence of missions, most people in the pagan community believe in its efficacy.

Sacrifices are prompted either by actual misfortune or by prophecies of it. The four sacrifices which I have seen myself were all stimulated by an actual shortage of food, and the hereditary priests have often told me that "now-a-days the chiefs do not listen to us until hunger comes." But, traditionally, sacrifices are said to have been usually prompted by prophecies of coming misfortune which was then averted by them. In each chiefdom the ruling great commoners, the hereditary priests and some private persons as well are believed to have the power of dreaming of misfortune (*okokunguluka*) before it comes. And the chiefs are said always to have listened to these dreams, formerly, and to have acted upon them.

Among the groves there is an order of seniority; the older the grove the more chiefdoms are concerned in the sacrifices there. And in Selya is the most important grove of all—Lubaga. All the chiefdoms of Selya, many of the Nyakyusa proper and even some of the neighbouring chiefdoms of the Mwamba are traditionally concerned in its sacrifices. Lubaga, the Nyakyusa say, is the grove of Lwembe, one of the original chiefs who came down the Livingstone Mountains from the East, eight or nine generations ago; and from him all the present Selya chiefs are descended. The ancestor of the chiefs of the Nyakyusa proper was a brother of Lwembe; and though the Kukwe and Mwamba chiefs are not related, yet those of the Mwamba who are nearest to Lubaga used to send cows there for sacrifice as well, because of the great reputation that this grove had.

Sacrifices are still made in the country of the chief of Lubaga (Mwakisisya) for all the surrounding chiefdoms, but the full ritual has not been carried out for forty years. Traditionally each chief of Lubaga was ritually installed into a position somewhat resembling that of Sir James Frazer's "Divine Kings," a position hedged with taboos, in which not only the sacrifices he made to Lwembe but his own health and fertility also were believed to be intimately connected with the prosperity of his own and neighbouring chiefdoms. But the present chief has never been properly installed, nor was his father before him. The sacrifices at Lubaga are believed to benefit not only the Nyakyusa but also the next tribe to the East, the Kinga, who live on the heights of the Livingstone Mountains; for Lwembe, they say, was born a Kinga and moved down the mountains to Lubaga, taking the fertility of the soil with him. And

every year two hereditary Kinga priests come a three days journey from their own country to participate in the sacrifice of a black cow to the spirits of Lwembe and his descendants.

Down by Lake Nyasa, in the extreme South East of the Nyakyusa district, there is another equally sacred spot where sacrifices were, and I believe still are²¹ made to Kyala, a younger brother of Lwembe.

The Christians and the Moslems form other religious groups which transcend the boundaries of a single chiefdom, but an examination of the Nyakyusa Christian and Moslem communities is beyond the scope of this paper.

The political group which is constituted by a Court district, though only ten years old, is of great importance in Nyakyusa society ; but here again the detailed examination of its organization and the relationships of its members is beyond the scope of this paper.

Conclusion : Culture and Society

The aim of sociology is to describe single forms of society fully and, in comparison with one another, to explain them completely, in so far as reasons can be found within this particular scientific field. Neither full description nor complete explanation of Nyakyusa society has here been attempted : many important facts have been omitted from the account, irregularities of detail have been slurred over, the connections of fact have been only occasionally and sketchily established, and no systematic comparison of this unit with others has been made at all.

But the method of this paper has involved an analysis, summary and general though it has been, of the nature of some of the many institutions in which the Nyakyusa meet, of some of the actual elements in their relationships with one another. It is in their dealings with the earth and their cattle, with the spirits and with men who break the law, in their discussions and arguments, their ceremonial feasts, their giving and receiving, in their loves and hates and in their admiration and mockery of one another that they forever make and remake their own human relationships.

Culture is the matter of which society is the form ; inseparable in fact they are only intelligible together. No two men can be related unless they both do something and unless their activities are somehow connected. Nor can either escape relationship with his fellow if what

²¹ I have not yet been there to investigate.

one does in any way affects the other's behaviour. "Culture" is but a general term for all the connected activities of a group of people through which they enter into relationships, that is into society, with one another. And since culture is nothing but the activities which bind men wittingly or unwittingly together, it is only through a systematic investigation of culture that we can reach any understanding at all of human bonds.

Every cultural activity must have some point, some meaning, for the actors themselves²² or they would not undertake it; it must have some value, some emotional appeal, some intellectual significance for them. This meaning is not the sole reason for their behaviour but it is one among other reasons. And, as what they do is an occasion of relationship with one another, so the meaning of what they do is also one of the reasons for the existence of their society in that particular situation.

Now the specific meaning of a cultural activity to the actors is not always a direct interest in one another or in human relationships as such, although sometimes, as in love making or in a movement for social reform, it may be so. In their behaviour men commonly look to some non-social end and create society half unwittingly on the way. When the Nyakyusa sacrifice a cow to the spirits of dead chiefs, or hoe their fields, or drink, or discuss the cause of a sickness, the specific reasons for their behaviour are to be found in values, ideas and feelings connected with health, food, drink, sickness and misfortune in general; and it is, in large part, their concern with these things that leads them to enter into society with one another. Human relationships are largely determined by the consequences, implications, and associations of absorbing pursuits whose immediate interest is not social, they are only in part the specific ends of effort, the direct objects of thought and feeling.

But apart from men's actual pursuits society has no existence anywhere, it can only be found in the material events of culture, at particular places and times; and only through a systematic analysis of the meanings and implications of those events can society be understood.

What we have just said involves a radical criticism of the Durkheimian method in social science; for that method always stops short of any thorough analysis of the manifold meanings and implications of cultural institutions, and so can never reveal the true nature of society which only exists in them. The Durkheimian's "social integration" or "solidarity" is a system of human relationships with only emotional

²²Not for all the actors, some of whom usually behave under the compulsion of sanctions, but for the majority of those responsible for the activity's continuance.

elements, void of all intelligible occasions of existence, a bloodless fiction, an insignificant idea.

Since every cultural activity is in part determined by external conditions of biology, climate, geography and historical circumstance, these conditions are also partial determinants of the human relationships involved in it. But the values, opinions and emotions current in any society are very largely independent of external conditions and cannot be deduced from them. And it is these aims, ideas and feelings which, through the activities to which they give point, and through the consequences, associations and implications of these activities provide the cultural conditions for each particular form of human society.

Thus culture, the matter, conditions the form of society which exists in it ; but the reverse is equally true, for every cultural activity is itself conditioned and made possible by the system of human relationships of which the society in question consists. Culture has no independent reality, it is always together with and at every moment conditioned by the relationships of people, for it is nothing but their connected behaviour. The form in which men act, in which they express their feelings and understand their world is inevitably and always conditioned by their relationships with one another. Into the meaning of cultural activities human relationships only occasionally enter as the immediate centre of the actors' interest, but they invariably enter as the context in which alone that meaning can exist. When a Nyakyusa hoes his fields he is directly seeking food and his action has thus an interest which is not at that moment specifically social, none the less it is socially conditioned in its entirety. The time and energy he puts into hoeing depend upon his need of food, which in turn largely depends upon the number of his wives and children, his responsibilities to them and the prestige that he has acquired or that he wishes to acquire for hospitality among his neighbours. And his every action, his every statement, his every overt expression of feeling is likewise socially conditioned.

A true sociological method is thus a systematic investigation of the mutual connections of culture and society, an attempt to show how the material and the form of social life forever condition each other. It is only in this way that we can reach understanding of the separate units of human society and of the universal laws which all alike fulfill.

NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGICAL SITUATION IN PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA ON THE SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI

By HENRI PH. JUNOD

The ethnology of Portuguese East Africa on the South of the Pungwe River is now sufficiently known to allow us to state that it is no more the puzzle which it used to be a few years ago. We know the main elements of the Native populations inhabiting these parts, and their interrelations have become clearer. I may be allowed here to sum up the situation as follows :—

Remnants of a very old and probably pre-Bantu population are still to be found there—a most interesting people, whose descendants mixed freely with the invading Bantu tribes, but whose characteristics are still obvious to a patient observer. I have tried to describe some of the features which give to these people their original physiognomy in a book which is in the press now.¹ The few elements which are still pure in the *Chopi-Khoka* tribe represent perhaps the best existing example of this very old population. A conscientious study of the Southern *Ronga* (of the *Thonga Shangaan* tribe) and of a part of the present Swazi tribe may bring to light the presence of a good proportion of these early inhabitants there also, on the evidence of a recent study on the serology or blood-groups of these people, carried out by Dr. Elsdon Dew, of the Institute of Medical Research of Johannesburg, the results of which will soon be made available to the scientific public. I have shown already that there are traces in modern *Chopi* of a tongue which is different in etymology from Bantu vocabulary, and *Chopi* culture offers also a set of customs and techniques which are often *sui generis*. This very ancient race did not know iron, and in spite of the fact that it was most certainly more intelligent than the invading Bantu tribes, it was overpowered and subdued by the latter.²

¹ *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa*. Reproductions of photographic studies by A. M. Duggan Cronin. Vol. IV. Section II, *The Bachopi*. With an introductory article and descriptive notes by H. P. Junod. Cambridge Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd. Kimberley, Alexander McGregor Museum, 1936.

² Definite evidence of the intelligence of these primitive inhabitants will be found in the volume quoted above (Note ¹) such as : the differentiation of the four xylophones in *Chopi* orchestra and their elaborate making, the perfection of *Chopi* bark-cloth manufacture, the making and use of Native alembics, etc.

The Bantu brought with them the iron age. In Southern P.E.A. they were the *Thonga-Shangaans*, the tribe which has been most carefully described by Dr. H. A. Junod in his *Life of a South African Tribe*, and which the recently published and beautiful photographic studies of Mr. A. Duggan Cronin have made better known.³ The three main groups of this tribe, the *Tswa*, the *Thonga* and the *Ronga* constitute now the bulk of the Native population from Zululand to the Great Sabi River (Rio Save). Between the Great Sabi and the Pungwe, the *Ndau* occupy the country, as I have shown previously in a paper published in this Review.⁴

I do not need to give more details here, as the situation is clear enough for all Bantuists.

Owing to the generous assistance of the Research Grant Board from funds given by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, I have been able to go and investigate the situation further North, and the aim of this paper is to give a relation of the ethnological data I found during a journey, which I made in July and August of 1935, between the Pungwe and the Zambesi. Before I sum up these details, I wish to express to my Portuguese friends my deepest gratitude for their kindness, and for the cordial hospitality they extended to me. After seven years I had spent in Southern P.E.A., I already knew how readily they open their doors and their hearts to a latin friend and how much trouble they take to assist him in his scientific studies. I wish especially to thank H. E. The Governor General of the Colony, Senhor José Pereira Cabral, who gave us all facilities, as well as the Governor of the Provincia de Zambesia, Senhor Castro e Silva, and the Governor of the Territory of the Mozambique Company, Senhor Luiz de Magalhães Correa, whose help and ready assistance proved most useful, in fact invaluable.

Before I started on my journey, I had thought, after reading the papers published by Schebesta on the ASena, as well as the Sena Grammar of Moreira and the Grammar and Vocabulary of the dialect of Tete by P. Alexander Mohl, S.J. that the bulk of the Native population between the Pungwe and the Zambesi was a great Sena tribe, with a few main groups (Sena, Podzo, Nyungwe, BaRgwe, etc.),⁵ And so I had the

³ *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa*. Vol. IV. Section I. Cambridge. Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd. Kimberley, Alexander McGregor Museum, 1935.

⁴ *Bantu Studies*. Vol. VIII No. 1, March, 1934, pp. 19-35.

⁵ See *Bibliotheca Africana*. Vol. II. No. 1, 1926 pp. 201-208 and Vol. II No. 2. pp. 322-334. Also *Praktische Grammatik der Bantu-Sprache von Tete und Woerterbuch*, verfasst von P. Alexander Mohl, S. J. Krakau. Druck von A. Koziński, 1904. Again: *Diccionario Portuguez-Cafre-Tetense*, traduzido pelo Padre V. J. Courtois. Coimbra 1900, and *Practical grammatical notes of the Sena language*, by A. Moreira, S. J. Anthropos, 1924. Sold by the Sena Sugar Estates, Ltd. Norfolk House, Cannon St., London.

idea that the situation was in fact very different from that south of the Pungwe, where successive strata of population coming from the west little by little filled the country.

1. BARGWE AND TONGA

When we crossed the *Pungwe* River, about twenty miles from the Southern Rhodesian border, on the beautiful road which leads from *Vila Pery* to *Tete*, we left the *VaManyika* and *Vateve* to the south, and we entered at once the country of the *BaRgwe*. Their name seems to be related to the word "stone" ("*bwe*, *bge*, *bgwe*, *rgwe*, *rigwe*" according to the different dialects spoken in these parts). It is interesting to note here that one individual of the tribe is never called a "*MuRgwe*," as one would expect, but that, when you ask him what kind of man he is, he invariably answers "*WaBaRgwe*" and calls his own tongue "*CiBaRgwe*" and not "*CiRgwe*." During the Great war, the *BaRgwe* started a rebellion against Portuguese rule, and the Government of the Mozambique Company, unable to cope with this pugnacious people, had to call for the assistance of the Portuguese Government, which quenched the rebellion after some serious fighting, and then took over the present territory of the *BaRue* Administration (Circunscrição do BaRue) from the Company which could not pay the expenses of the campaign. In olden times already, Francisco Barreto and Vasco Fernandes Homem had had some hard fighting with the *BaRgwe*, in their expedition toward the mines of Manica, where they meant to chastise the so-called *Regulo Mongas*, in the years 1571 and 1572.⁶

While my fellow travellers were sound asleep in our camp, about five miles on the north of the Pungwe, I heard the persistent beating of drums near by, and I found my way to a village of the *BaRgwe*, where a dance was in full swing. It was about two o'clock in the night and we were walking through a very beautiful forest of *Brachystegia venosa*, where we came across a very long fence, built with poles and interwoven twigs, with a few openings where a very deep hole had been dug and pointed sticks stuck at the bottom, so as to catch bucks and wild pigs. We passed through fields of manioc and mealies, and arrived at the village, whose owner, *Mangonda Nhehwa*, greeted us with the customary clapping of hands, and his wife, a very old woman, making the so graceful courtsey, called "*ku chola*" or "*ku cyola*." This way of greeting of the

⁶ This campaign, as well as others, have been very ably described by the General José Justino Teixeira Botelho, in his very valuable book *História política e militar dos Portugueses em Moçambique, da descoberta a 1833*. Lisboa. Centro Tipográfico Colonial, 1934. (Vide pp. 175 sqq.)

women is really very beautiful. They begin by folding gently their arms, then bring their two hands on their breast, and at the same time bend the knees very slowly, and incline the head forward ; finally, they straighten out again and release their arms most gracefully. This greeting is general among all these tribes. There is nothing servile in it. It is addressed to the men and the chiefs. When a woman meets another woman, she greets her by clapping hands, which is the greeting of man to man also ; only when a man claps hands, he does it with the fingers in front, whereas the women clap their hands with crossed palms. In the village, there were a few fires, and the dance had been going on for a long time already. It had been arranged in honour of the late *Nyakumbu Nhehwa*, father of *Mangonda*, " to please him," so *Mangonda* said. Beer was plentiful. Many of the visitors were either in the nirvana of drunkenness, or about to enter into it. In the background, a few girls, one old woman, and a few boys were dancing, on a rhythm which was changed from time to time, marked very forcibly by three drums, two "*gundha* " and one "*pindhimbi*," with the addition of the piercing noise produced by two hoes beaten against each other. I noticed at once that the *BaRgwe*, like the *Manyika*, file the inner side of their two upper incisive teeth in triangular shape. Many women, like the *Teve* and many other tribes of the south of the Zambesi, pierce their upper and lower lips, and insert into them one short big-headed nail in the upper lip, and one longer small-headed nail in the lower one. These are called "*cithotho* " or "*kathotho*."

I got very interesting information about the various clans of the *BaRgwe* at *Mangonda's* village. One finds *Choko* (related to *Simangu* among the *Ndau*), whose totem is the monkey, *Tembu*, *Makate*, *Ciware*, *Mucathu* (totem, the python) and more especially the clan of the chiefs *Nyanguru*. I learned here that the succession to chieftainship is from father to son, amongst the *BaRgwe*. The father's brothers do not rule, but they act as counsellors. All the smaller chiefs (*nyankhwaha*) obey the paramount chief (*mfumo*).

The *BaRgwe* all agree that they belong to *Shona* stock. Many of them came from *Mbire*, in Southern Rhodesia. They practise circumcision of the males, and the women have marginal rites and the well known custom of *protractio labiarum minorum*. They bury their dead like the tribes of the west and south, i.e. they dig first a rectangular hole, and when the hole has reached a certain depth, they carve out a lateral cavity, the house of the dead. The corpse is laid there, with both arms folded, the head resting on the hands, and the two legs folded against the body. The eyes look toward the west, toward the country whence the

ancestors came. The *BaRgwe* are very able iron-workers, and they live in a country where iron ore is plentiful.

Later on on our journey, when we came to *Vila Paiva de Andrade*, in a beautiful spot near the *Gorongosa* mountains, I found confirmation of all the details given here about the *BaRgwe*. The chiefs of these parts, who belong to the *Tembu* clan, told me that their ancestors started from *Mbire* with *Nkomu*, who went further south, and with *Masapa* who settled with them in the *Gorongosa* country. It seems that there, the custom of circumcision of boys has disappeared, but the old men still remember a time when it was practised.

The country of the *BaRgwe* extends from the *Pungwe* to the *Lwanya* (*Luenha*) river on the north, and to *Tambara* on the Zambesi on the north-east, embracing all the mountainous country of *Gorongosa* and the plain, up to the Rhodesian border on the west. However, from *Guru*, a village about 30 miles south of *Mungari*, the *Tonga* elements predominate.

It has been rather generally admitted, in the absence of definite information, that the *Tonga* of southern Zambesi were closely related to the *BaRgwe* or *BaRwe*. In fact, they have often been represented as one tribe. On the map published by Dr. C. M. Doke in his valuable study of Shona phonetics,⁷ this country is described as "*BaRwe-Tonga*." These *Tonga*, who have nothing whatever to do with the *Thonga-Shangaan*, nor with the *Tonga-Khoka* of Inhambane, inhabit the country situated between the *Lwanya* River (*Luenha*) on the north and the *BaRgwe* territory on the east and south. They try to hide their identity and to be considered as a part of the *BaRgwe*. This is due to the fact that their name is a nickname representing them as "slaves," and also to the fact that nowadays their language is apparently related to that of the *BaRgwe*. However, examining them from the social anthropological point of view and also in the light of their origin, it seems to me that the *Tonga* are rather far apart from the *BaRgwe*. When we stopped at the headman *Kampapa Cilendje's* kraal, about ten miles north of the administrative post of *Mungari*, I collected a number of very interesting details about them.

First, the *mutupo*, or clan name, of the chiefs is no more *Nyanguru*, but very generally *Cilendje*, whose totem is, or at least used to be in olden times, the leg of all animals, as *Kampapa* had to eat himself protective medicine to be free of the prohibition for him and his family. One finds

⁷ *A Comparative Study of Shona Phonetics*, by C. M. Doke. The University of the Witwatersrand Press, Johannesburg, 1931.

also the names of *Makate*, *Civambo*, *Tembu* and *Nguruwe* amongst the *Tonga*.

Next, the *Tonga* do not know the custom of circumcision of the males. They definitely say that they never practised it. One finds amongst them the custom of the marginal rites for young women called *matinji*, a form of the custom of *protractio labiarum minorum*. There is a very marked difference with the *BaRgwe* custom in burial rites. The *Tonga* do not dig the lateral cavity already referred to in the account of the *BaRgwe*; they only dig a rectangular hole and the corpse is put in it on his side, looking towards the north-west, with both legs extended, and the arms and hands stretched along the body, *Kampapa* added the following details: The wife of the deceased is not taken into marriage by her brother-in-law (the deceased's brother) at once. A special offering of beer must be made to the departed, a ceremony of good-will at which they tell him, pouring out the beer; "*Bwadwa waku, u kala mtima u li bwina*," i.e. "This is your beer, drink to your heart's content and remain in peace." Once the ceremony is ended, the woman can be taken into marriage by her late husband's younger brother.

I was very much interested by what *Kampapa Cilendje* told me about the marriage customs of the *Tonga*. When a young boy has obtained his girl friend's agreement to his proposal to marry her, he goes to the father of the girl with a "*phaza ra muromu*," a "hoe of the mouth," i.e. a hoe which opens the official conversation. These hoes, which are made by the *BaRgwe* iron-workers, are still to be found to-day and I had the good luck to buy one from old *Kampapa*. It is genuine Native work. The ore is plentiful in the country of the *BaRgwe*, where the *Tonga* go and buy them from the makers. An interesting feature about these hoes is the very primitive manufacture—no danger of seeing on them the trade mark "made in Germany or Japan"—and more especially the fact that, in olden times, these hoes were never used in the fields at all. They were kept for the purpose of finding wives for the young men of the village, and the one I bought had quite obviously never been used in ploughing. When the first "*phaza ra muromu*" has been accepted by the father of the girl (this is after he has made sure of the girl's consent), the young man works in his bride's village for two months, he "*pfaha*."⁸ Then the boy goes back to his own kraal and time passes, while the girl and the boy are still growing. From time to time, the boy visits his family-in-law-to-be and brings more hoes, two or three. When a year

⁸ I have described this interesting custom in a paper on sundry customs of the *Ndau*, which will appear shortly in *Africa*.

or two have elapsed, and the boy sees that the girl has come of age, he goes again and works for two months for his father and mother-in-law, then he brings a hen and says: "Now, I want my wife." The father-in-law takes also a hen and a plate full of mealie meal, and gives them to the boy, saying: "It is all right. Here is your wife, you may take her." But before the marriage takes place, girl and boy have to be completely shaved. All the hair of their bodies must be carefully shaved off, at least it was so in the past. Nowadays, however, it is a matter for the individual to decide for himself. At least 50% of youths still submit to the custom and shave arm-pits and pubic hair. This is done by elder women to the girl and by elder men to the boy. They use a kind of stone, or failing that, a piece of green wood, burnt in the fire until it is hard and rough, and with it, they effectively remove what little hair they may have on arms and legs by rubbing this piece of green wood, called "*sambu*" on them. The "*sambu*" is carved with one handle in the shape of a little axe. It is used by the *Tonga* and the *Tavara* people. It seems that the shaving off of hair, "*kumeta tsheve*," especially the shaving off of pubic hair "*kumeta bvudzi*," is the great "*rite de passage*" of the people of these parts. It is practised in all important events of the individual's life, at puberty, marriage, grave illness, and death. The corpses of the deceased are always completely shaved.

From a European who has lived many years in these regions and knows the Natives very well, I have been able to gather the following information:

"All youths, from the time when they first feel the inclination to do so, are permitted to have concubines, prior to marriage. In their home village, they rarely have more than one regular one, though promiscuous intercourse is indulged in. A boy wandering round from village to village may, on giving a girl a small present (a penny or its equivalent) sleep with a girl during his stay in the village. If, however, a boy deflowers a maiden who has voluntarily permitted to sleep with her, he is compelled to marry her. In a case of regular marriage, no marriage-fee is paid until the husband is satisfied that the girl is a maiden. Widows of any one man, irrespective of the number, are taken over either by the man's brother, or else by his eldest son. He will not, however, commit incest, which is absolutely unknown amongst these tribes."

I was very much interested when I found that practically all the *Rgwe* and *Tonga* tribes use as a means of divination the "*dzihakata*," the shells of the fruit of the "*mungomu*," a kind of wild peach-tree. I have described these in the paper already referred to, which will appear in

Africa. The names applied to the various positions in which the six shells fall on the ground are practically the same as the ones found in Ndau territory, and the explanations given are also very similar.

One finds also the use of amulets, called "*maruske*" (sing : *luske* or *wuruske*) tied to the necks of children, and another kind called "*nkambi*," worn by grown-up people. The first one is an ordinary reed, in which a black powder prepared with several roots, burnt and ground, is placed. The second one is a kind of little ring, made out of a few long roots, held together with fibre strings and tied to the neck. The Tonga women very generally wear little ear-rings, called "*mphete*," made out of very soft tin-plate, in the shape of a small triangle tied to a ring.

When we stopped at *Guru*, a village on the border between the *Tonga* and the *BaRgwe*, I noticed a child who had the head entirely shaved except for a small tuft of hair in the middle of the skull, and the mother explained that the child had been very sick and had been treated by a herbalist who shaved his hair and left this small tuft, which he will cut only when the child is completely cured. This practice seems to be observed by all *BaRgwe* and *Tonga* people.

2. THE TAVARA PEOPLE

Our way led us further north to the border between the *Tonga* and the people of *Nyungwe*, the river *Luenha* (phon : *Lwanya*), which we crossed in order to reach *Tete*, on the border of the *Zambesi*. As these parts have already been described by Mohl and Schebesta, we only stopped there a short time and came back to the *Luenha* river, to proceed towards the west and across the *Mazoe* (phon : *Mazwi*) river, which is the border between the people of *Nyungwe* and the *Tavara*.

As soon as we had crossed the river, we stayed for a while in the village of *Simoko Makate*, and I noticed that the *Tavara* build, beside their ordinary huts, another kind of hut, laid on very high poles (about 10 feet high), where they sleep in summer, so as to escape the fierce biting of the mosquitoes. The ordinary huts are very well built, like the huts of the *BaRgwe* and the *Tonga*. The walls are made of slender poles, stuck into the ground about fifteen inches apart, and twigs are interwoven between these poles, so that the wall from outside looks like a big basket. Only the inside of the wall is plastered with clay. The *Tavara* people seem to be very able workers and also very good hunters. They seem to be a mixture of different clans, some coming from the land of *Nyungwe-Tete* (*Mathethe*, *Makate*, *Bande*), some coming from the land of the *Tonga* and *BaRgwe* (*Cilendje*, *Tembu*, *Marunga*, *Nyanguru*, etc.) some

coming from the west (*Hala, Ndewa, Shewa, Civambo, Cirongo*). One also finds among them a few clans from the North (especially *Phiri*, whose totem is the hill). Once further into *Tavara* country, on the border of the *Mazwi*, in the village of *Nyacilanga Hala*, about 25 miles north of the administrative post of *Changara*, I began to see how the *Tavara* work the cotton fibre. Cotton grows wild in the country and the fibre is worked with a kind of small spinning wheel, called "*khamba*," the whole operation being called "*kunguisa*." On a little stick cut from the "*mpfula*" tree, a kind of round plate with a hole in the middle is inserted. On the top of the stick is a little curved nail, into which the fibre of cotton is put. The worker begins to revolve the little stick (*ntongolo*) quicker and quicker, and a nice thread of solid cotton is obtained. The women wear bracelets, ear-rings, and a special kind of beadwork, called "*bzimpute*." These beads, chosen with great care, and very well strung on a piece of string, have the shape of a long necklace, but are put around the loins. The *Tavara* people use beautiful bows, carved from the "*mutshibu*" bush, a very solid and flexible wood. These bows are called "*wuta*." Their arrows are of the ordinary type.

It seems that the bulk of the old *Tavara* people came from the *Luya* river in a very remote past. They say that they came before the *Tonga* and the *BaRgwe* into these parts. They also practise the shaving of the hair of the whole body in case of illness, puberty, marriage, and death.

We retraced our steps to *Mungari*, the administrative post of the *Tonga*, and from there went north and east toward *Tambara*. We were all the time going through a country with a rather scarce population, composed of *Tonga* and *BaRgwe* elements. When we approached the great village of Chief *Lundu Cilendje*, after having crossed the dry bed of the *Muwira* river, at the Native village of *MuSena Marunga*, we had the good fortune of killing an elephant at night. When we found the great beast on the following morning, I had the opportunity of witnessing a most interesting custom of the people of these parts. I am told that it is practised by all the tribes there and it is called "*kukwira nzowu*," i.e. "to climb the elephant." All the members of the tribe who have not yet observed the custom must do it when they first come to the corpse of a dead elephant. As an elephant means plenty of meat, more than one can ever dream of, a great crowd of men, women and children gathered on the spot. The scene was in itself extremely picturesque. We were in the middle of a dense forest and our elephant had come to die near a little bush. Two or three men were busy with knives and axes, cutting the mass of meat. I suddenly saw one mother approach the hind legs of

the animal with her small child, while another woman went to the other side of the beast. The mother took her child in her arms from the carrying sling, and carefully put it on the back of the animal, while the child was crying as much as it possibly could. After the baby had stayed there for a while, the other woman took it from the other side. Then a number of women did the same with their babies; it was like a continuous procession. Boys and girls who had not yet "*kwira nzovu*" did the same, until all the people present knew that everybody had observed the custom. A good many men and women had already done it, so it was not necessary for them to begin again. This, I was told, is a very general custom, going back perhaps to more totemic times.

When an elephant has been killed, the hunter must "*kwira nzovu*" and he praises himself with songs. He cuts the tail and goes to the chief, always singing his own praise. The chief comes and takes the legs which touch the ground, because he is "the earth" (*ya phatsi ya mambo*). The tusks belong to the hunter. While men explained to me these customs, I suddenly saw *Marunga*, the headman of the village, seize one of the tusks which had just been parted from the head. He went aside with it and carefully inserted his knife into it so as to take out the medulla. It took some time. When the medulla came out, he took a bunch of leaves which he had previously cut from a tree and quickly closed the cavity left in the tusk. When I asked him why he had done so, he very seriously told me that it was necessary to do so, as without it many would become ill with bilharzia. Such is the belief of the *Tonga* and *Sena* people.

At the great chief's kraal, *Lundu Cilendje*, where we spent one night, I heard a very interesting account of the passage of the emissaries of *Mucapi*. This kind of spiritual revival described by Dr. A. I. Richards⁹ which seems to have originated in Nyasaland, has deeply affected the whole country, right to the south of Portuguese East Africa. As it has been ably outlined, there is no need to write much more about it. I would not, however, subscribe to the title given to this movement, the one of "*witchfinders*." It is a very complex ensemble of facts, which seem to show an extraordinary mixture of primitive Bantu beliefs with adulterated christian ideas. The first teaching of the *BaMucapi* is that every charm and magic medicine of old must be destroyed, so that the individual may "find the source of life and escape death," and the bare fact that all charms, either of destructive or of protective magic, have to be destroyed, shows that the idea is not clearly to "find witches." The

⁹ *Africa*. Vol. VII, No. 4 October 1935. pp. 448-461. *A modern movement of witch-finders.*

great word of the *BaMucapi* was that if people came to them, "they would give them a medicine through the action of which all would escape death." As soon as a child was born, the law of the *BaMucapi* imposed that he be given the "medicine of life." This, I was told was a little quantity of water in which a red powder was put, mixed with some parts of nails and a few hair of the eyelids. (It is interesting here to compare this medicine with the "great mhamba," described by H. A. Junod.¹⁰) The idea is no doubt again to preserve life, as the parts used in the medicine are more or less imperishable portions of the body. Every man had to pay two pence, in the village of *Lundu Cilendje*, so as to obtain the powerful medicine of *MuCap*i. But unfortunately for the new creed, death went on visiting the village, and the Portuguese authorities heard about this movement. All the emissaries of *MuCap*i were put in prison. And now a very few still believe in this supernatural means of escaping death.

3. THE SENA

When we left Chief *Lundu Cilendje's* kraal, after several unpleasant experiences, as we broke a few of the wooden bridges built over the drifts, we reached *Tambara*, a most impressive administrative post on the Zambesi. On the west, as the sun was going down, we saw the "serra de *Lupata*," a beautiful range of hills, through which the great river has worked its way toward the sea. The administrative post, a well built stronghold, on the top of an eminence, is facing the Zambesi on the north; and the river is so wide there, still increased by a very large lake, that it seems to reach the foot of the mountain range, behind which is the Nyasaland border. The volume of water is enormous, and one can hardly believe that it has to go through a gorge which is only thirty feet wide, about forty miles west of *Tete*. The stronghold was taken by the *BaRgwe*, during the 1915-1917 rebellion, and we still saw the traces of their occupation. They had taken all the iron they could find to make bullets, and all the door and window-hinges had to be replaced, when the Portuguese authorities took possession again. The Native population in these parts is again very much mixed. After careful investigation, I found that the chiefs still belong to the *Cilendje* clan. These *Cilendje* pretend to belong to the *Sena*, but the *Sena* proper, if such a tribe is to be admitted as an ethnological entity, consider them as *Tonga*. One still finds here many *Tembu*, *Civambo*, *Shawa*, etc. But a few new names

¹⁰ *The Life of a South African tribe*. Vol. II. p. 406. For further information about the movement of the *BaMucapi*, see *Bulletin missionnaire*. Lausanne, June, 1935, pp. 247-255

like *Mbadzo*, *Marunga*, *Dunga* begin to appear. There is also a division in the *Cilendje* clan itself. One section of the *Cilendje* is here the *Cilendje Nzowu*, whose totem is the leg of the elephant, and the other is *Cilendje Mbidzi*, whose totem is the zebra. The information I gathered here about funeral rites and marriage does not differ from that already given for the *Tonga*. The people also practise the custom of shaving all hair at puberty, marriage and death. I collected at *Tambara* an interesting sample of *Tonga-Sena* craft, the "*fumba*" or "*pfumba*," the bed of the Natives. It is a double mat which is made as follows: A long strip of carefully woven palm tree leaves, about 5 inches wide and about 45 yards long, is sewn up so as to obtain a very big rectangular bag, about two by one and a quarter yards. This is pressed on the ground while the material is still soft, having been dipped into water, and rolled like an ordinary Native mat. The man enters into the bag and sleeps inside, being thus protected against mosquitoes. The "*fumba*" is wide enough to serve as a double bed. It is used generally by the tribes settled south of the *Zambesi*.

The *BaMucapi* had also passed through the country, and the administrator, Senhor Fernandes, a most obliging guest, told me that six of the missionaries of *MuCap*i, who pretended that they had been sent from Nyasaland by a woman called Maria, were put into jail, after they had got many hundred of followers, and then deported to Nyasaland.

Our way led us through the administrative post of *Chiramba* where we thought we would find at last the real *Sena*. But here again we found the country almost entirely inhabited by *Tonga* clans. However, the presence of many *Marunga* and *Bande* was conspicuous, and the origin of the second of these is clearly to be found in the tribes settled on the northern bank of the *Zambesi*, amongst the so-called *MaNgandja*.

We reached the Portuguese administration of *Chemba*, following always the *Zambesi* from west to east. As I desired to investigate the situation further inland on the south, we took the *Chemba-Maringwe* road, until we reached the kraal of the chief *Marima Bande*, where we stopped. The kraal is built on a little eminence, and we began to find most of the huts built square. *Marima*, who is an elderly man, definitely told me that he is a *Sena*, and, as a matter of fact, I began to see traces of a culture which seemed to me very different from what I know of Bantu culture in general. First, most of the huts are square buildings, placed on poles (especially near the river, for fear of floods). The walls are not at all as well-built as in the case of the *BaRgwe* or the *Tonga*. A hut is made of simple poles, about a yard apart from each other, with reeds

between the poles. Schebesta has described the typical *Sena* hut in his paper,¹¹ so there is no need to re-describe it here. When I asked about the origin of the square Native house, I could get no satisfactory answer. It is the immemorial custom of the *Sena*. But to me it is quite obvious that the origin of this way of building is not Bantu. The people of *Sena* have been in contact with Europeans for the last four hundred years; and, before this, they were in contact with Asiatics (Phoenicians, Indians and Arabs) for many centuries, not to say over a thousand years. The name of *Sena* itself is not Bantu. Like *Gaza*, or *Sewe* (names which are to be found in Native Portuguese East Africa), it is certainly of Asiatic origin, and the Natives of these parts bear the traces of very advanced disintegration in language and culture. However, the square hut is now a typical feature of the *Sena* of the southern bank of the Zambesi.

In *Marima Bande's* kraal, I noticed a nice little square hut, built on poles, and apparently intended for a special purpose. On enquiry, I was told that this hut was the "*cete*," a hut especially built for a boy and a girl who have become engaged. In this hut, the boy and the girl are allowed to have absolutely free premarital sexual intercourse, and the marriage is only celebrated when the girl is pregnant. This custom is general amongst the *Sena*. One finds similar customs in many human societies in the world, but it appeared to me that it is rather different from the ordinary Bantu customs of marriage. It is true that premarital intercourse is general among the Tonga-Shangaan, Ndau and many other tribes, but one must emphasize that it is never allowed to go as far as defloration of the virgin. So I think, personally, that the "*cete*" hut is a second striking evidence of tribal disintegration. The third one is the overwhelming number of *Sena* Natives who bear Portuguese names, and have no Native clan name at all, as well as the frequent occurrence of Portuguese words in the *Sena* language.

Marima Bande told me that his ancestors came from the other side of the Zambesi, and belonged there to the *MaNgandja* tribe. When they came to the country in which they are at present, they found it uninhabited. Since then, many people have come into the country, either of *BaRgwe* or *Tonga* stock (*Tembu*, *Cilendje*, *Makate*, etc.) or of *Podzo* stock (*Mbadzo*, *Muwera*, *Bangu*).

We had meant to go further south, but the road was found to be impracticable for our heavy lorry. So I had to rely on *Marima Bande's* information to evaluate the situation down to the Gorongosa mountains.

¹¹ *Zur Ethnographie der A Sena*, Bibliotheca Africana, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 202-203.

Practically all the chiefs of this region belong to the *Tembu* clan, and must therefore be counted mainly as *BaRgwe*. From *Chemba* to *Maringwe*, here are the names of the chiefs : *Kalamu Tembu*, *Ciowu Tembu*, *Kacere Bande*, *Marima Bande*, *Karume Tembu*, *Nyarugwe*, *Utumbi*, *Palame*, *Kacici*, *Tukute*, *Ceci*, *Diva*, *Camatere*, *Nyaciwi*, *Sakweni* : all belonging to the *Tembu* clan ; *Tsiku Bande*, *Buske Bande* and *Punzani Bande*.

Marima told me that all the chiefs were considered as *Sena* down to *Palama Tembu*, and that from the territory of this chief the country was considered as being that of the *BaRgwe*. As to the difference between *Sena* and *Tonga* as languages, it may be of interest to give a few samples of their vocabularies :—

SENA.	TONGA.	
<i>ndza.</i>	<i>nswa.</i>	grass.
<i>moto.</i>	<i>mlilo.</i>	fire.
<i>makutu.</i>	<i>matwi.</i>	ears.
<i>suo.</i>	<i>tsase.</i>	door.
<i>mabaka.</i>	<i>mabvu.</i>	earth.
<i>mwambwa.</i>	<i>mbwaya.</i>	dog.
<i>nyoka.</i>	<i>nzoka.</i>	snake.
<i>nyanza.</i>	<i>kaludzi.</i>	river.
<i>dzua.</i>	<i>dzua.</i>	sun.
<i>mwale.</i>	<i>buwe.</i>	stone.
<i>masamba.</i>	<i>masi.</i>	leave.
<i>nyalo.</i>	<i>nzutoyo.</i>	foot.

etc.

The people at present settled around *Sena* introduce into their language a great number of Portuguese words and expressions, as I have already explained.

When we reached *Sena*, I had the good luck of finding in the Portuguese administration a chief, *Ceca Bande*, who gave me confirmation of practically all the details I had found at *Marima's* kraal. He confirmed that the first people who came into the country, which was then uninhabited, were a few individuals of his clan, *Bande*, coming from the country of the *MaNgandja* on the northern bank of the river. Then followed some people of the *Malunga* or *Marunga* clan, also coming from the North. After having walked on the great *Sena* bridge, said to be the longest in the world, we reached *Ceca Bande's* kraal, ten miles further east, and I learned that from this spot a great number of *Podzo* elements begin to appear in the population. *Ceca Bande* told me that, in this part of the country, the "*cete*," the hut of the betrothed, is only built when

the boy comes from a far distant village. As soon as the girl is pregnant, the marriage is settled in the following way: The boy brings a shilling (um cruzado) to the girl who takes it to her father. Then the boy brings a number of pieces of clothing, worth about £2. He must not forget a special piece for the mother-in-law. After that, the girl is brought to the boy's kraal by her father and several relatives, who also bring with them goats and hens, and there is usually a big "batuque," a dance on that occasion. The shaving of hair is also customary.

So as to get a really correct view of the population around *Sena*, I give here a list of the main clan names, with their origin:

Bande, which name is rather prevalent, came from the north, and so must be considered ethnologically as an original MuNgandja name. *Malunga* or *Marunga* is also coming from the north and west, and seems to be related to the people of *Tete*. *Tembu* and *Cilendje* are of *BaRgwe* and *Tonga* origin. In addition to these, we find a great number of *Podzo* elements, which will be referred to later on: *Thambu*, *Chawu*, *Muvera*, etc. One also finds some elements from the south (*Teve*): *Nyangombe*, *Simboti*, *Duwo*, etc.

When I prepared this list, I began to understand why I seemed never to reach the *Sena* proper. It seems that the *Sena* tribe does not exist as an ethnic entity. All the elements which settled around *Sena* belong originally to other tribes. But owing to the very long occupation of the land by foreign peoples (Asiatics and Europeans), the *Sena* took for themselves the name of the land, given to it by the foreign traders. From an ethnological point of view, there is no *Sena* tribe, but the *Sena* people originally came from all the surrounding tribes. I found practically the same situation at *Vila Fontes*, with a more striking prevalence of *Podzo* elements, as might have been expected.

4. THE PODZO

From *Vila Fontes* and *Chupanga* to *Marromeu*, the physiognomy of the country does not change. Only the plain of the Zambesi becomes so wide that the eye does not see its end. The population is dense on the banks of the river and on the fertile soil of the plain itself; the country is one of those parts of the world which could undoubtedly carry about a hundred times the population actually settled there. When we crossed the *Zangwa* river, a few miles after we left *Vila Fontes*, we entered the territory of *Chupanga*, and we noticed that a new element of the population was becoming more and more apparent as we went east. It is the *Podzo* people. To my knowledge, there is no description of these people,

except for the few notes published by Gustavo de Bivar Pinto Lopes, in his answers to an ethnographical questionnaire prepared by the Government.¹² The *Podzo* people have come originally from the northern bank of the Zambesi, and they seem to be directly related to the people of *Chinde* and *Quelimane*. Gustavo de Bivar Pinto Lopes says that their tongue is related to the tongue of *Sena* and to the *Chuabo* spoken on the northern bank of the Zambesi, but that is a well defined language spoken by about 15,000 Natives. The people of the *Chupanga* territory seem to be a mixture of the tribes of the west with the *Podzo*, and I was told that their dialect is midway between the dialects of *Sena* and the real *Podzo* of the delta of the Zambesi. The family or clan names of the *Podzo* people are the following ones: *Cinde* (obviously from the North: *Chinde* being the harbour situated on the delta of the Zambesi); *Mbadzo*, already mentioned on several occasions, also from the north; *Thundu*, *Botha*, *Ngawa*, *Zingo*, *Sase*, and *Cowe*, all from the north. These must be considered as probably the true *Podzo* people. Then one finds still *Cilendje*, called here *Cirembwe*, *Marunga* and *Bande* coming from the west, and *Simboti* and *Nyangombe*, coming from the south, as well as *Cirongo* and *Cifungo*.

The *Podzo* race is rather short and stoutly built. It is a race of paddlers, and I was told by the Administrator of the *Marromeu* Circumscription that they are the best available workers of these parts. They live near the river in a very fertile country and seem to have preserved their originality better than the *Sena*. The really pure *Podzo*, south of the Zambesi, number only 4,588, according to the statistics of *Marromeu* administration. The whole country near the sea, south of the *Podzo*, down to Beira, is very little populated. The huge plains of a rather marshy nature are left very largely to the thousands upon thousands of buffaloes which have multiplied there.

As we had very little time to spend at *Marromeu*, and only went through the *Sena* Sugar Estates plantations to the *Khonkhwe* river, about five miles south of the Zambesi, the details collected about the *Podzo* are rather scanty. It is a most interesting tribe, which would deserve a thorough and patient study. My impression, in spite of the fact that I found many points of contact with the other tribes, west and south, is that the *Podzo* may be one more instance of the remnants of an old primitive population represented by the *Chopi-Khoka* of the south. But to warrant such an impression, one ought to have gathered much more direct evidence. As far as burial rites are concerned, the *Podzo* also dig a

¹² *Respostas ao questionario etnografico*. Beira, 1928.

rectangular hole only, into which the corpse is put with hands extended along the body and legs extended, but it rests on its side, the face toward the west. All the belongings of the dead are buried with him. The *Podzo* do not admit any children at a burial. I could not get a good account of the burial rites. But it is interesting to note one detail. Like the *Sena*, the *Podzo* have a "*nyarumbi*," an official grave-digger, who prepares the tomb and the prescribed offerings. A special hen is killed, and everyone in the village has to eat a part of it. If any one is absent at the time of the burial, a bone of the sacrificed hen is left hanging at his door, and he must touch it before entering the house.

The *Podzo* women greet also by "*cola*," the customary courtesy of the tribes south of the *Zambesi*. But here they repeat it twice, bending the knees somehow more deeply than the *Sena* or the *Tonga*. When meeting another woman, they clap their hands palm against palm. The men greet by clapping their hands with the fingers in front.

It was at *Marromeu* that I first heard mention of the God of the River, called *Bona*. As far as I was able to understand, this is an animistic notion applied to the *Zambesi*. The people set apart one woman in the different clans who is considered as the wife of the *Bona*. And in cases of floods, they come and present gifts to these women so as to appease the angry God. I was told that this is to be found all along the bank of the *Zambesi*.

The *Podzo* people also observe the custom of shaving the hair, called here "*kuzinka ithiti*." They use the "*dzihakata*" divining shells. And there are a good many exorcists of the *Ndau* or *Shona* type, with their customary "*mitundu*" baskets. The country has also been visited by the *BaMucapi*.

Here are a few examples of *Podzo* vocabulary, as compared with *Sena-Tonga*:

	<i>PODZO</i>	<i>SENA</i>
Meat, game	<i>djinama</i> .	<i>nyama</i> .
Hyaena.	<i>nyankuno</i> .	<i>t'ika</i> .
elephant.	<i>ntowu</i> .	<i>nzowu</i> .
lion.	<i>pondogoma</i> .	<i>nkalamu</i> .
earth.	<i>maraka</i> .	<i>mataka</i> .
blood.	<i>muova</i> .	<i>mulopa</i> .
to-day.	<i>tambuno</i> .	<i>lero</i> . (<i>Chopi</i> : <i>muhuno</i>).
ear.	<i>baru</i> .	<i>makutu</i> .
hair.	<i>thiti</i> .	<i>tsisi</i> .

The *Podzo* have also the double mat as bed, called here "*ifumba*."

From *Marromeu* we retraced our steps to *Chupanga* and took the road to the south, passing through the magnificent forest of *Inhamitonga*. From *Inhamminga* administration we went slowly through the country, by a very difficult road, and were very much surprised to find that the *Teve* are settled much further north than the *Pungwe* river. When we reached the village of *Sapanda Shumba*, we had already left the true *Sena* country, in spite of the fact that many square huts were still conspicuous. The chiefs are already real *Teve* (*Shona*) and belong to the "*mutupo*" (totemic name) of *Nyantaza*. There are however many clan names which show a northern (*Bande*, *Marunga*, *Cilendje*, etc.) and western origin (*Tembu*, *Makate*, etc.). At *Goinya*, a little further south, we found a definite predominance of *Teve* clans: *Nyamphisi*, *Cioawa*, *Mwanya*, *Cirumba*, etc.

After we left *Beira*, and came back by the western road toward Rhodesia, we still went to *Vila Paiva de Andrade*, at the foot of the magnificent *Gorongosa* mountains, where we found again the *BaRgwe* and the *Sena*. I found there confirmation of the information given on the *BaRgwe*.

The Native population between the *Pungwe* and the *Zambesi* seems to be a mixture of different elements, where the *Shona* element is predominant in the west and centre, and the northern and eastern elements (*MaNgandja* and *Podzo*) predominant in the east. I may be allowed to give here the official statistics for the year of 1932:—

	Square kilometers	Native population
Circumscrip. BARUE.	26275.	50133.
GORONGOZA.	7900.	22016.
BOROMA.	4925.	50317.
CHEMBA.	9537.	43460.
CHUPANGA.	3920.	12572.
CHERINGOMA.	14000.	13572.
SENA.	3550.	43234.
MARROMEU.	4000.	13214.

If we take an average of 250,000 inhabitants for about 75000 square kilometers, we reach an average of about 3 per square kilometer. The so-called *Sena*, who should be called differently, would be about 100,000,

the *BaRgwe* about 60,000, the *Tonga* and *Tavara* about 80,000, and the *Podzo* about 10,000. The *Tonga*, *Tavara* and *BaRgwe* belong to *Shona* stock. The *Sena* are a mixture of *Shona* and *Ngandja* stock. And the *Podzo* are to be related to the tribes north of the *Zambesi* delta.

In such a brief survey of the situation, in so huge a country, mistakes are inevitable, and we shall have to depend on further contributions for a truly scientific ethnology of Portuguese East Africa on the south of the *Zambesi*. However, this survey will have served its purpose, if it has contributed to clear up some of the problems which are as yet unsolved in the beautiful African land which rests under the flag of our Portuguese friends.

MAP OF
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
between

Scale: 1:2500,000

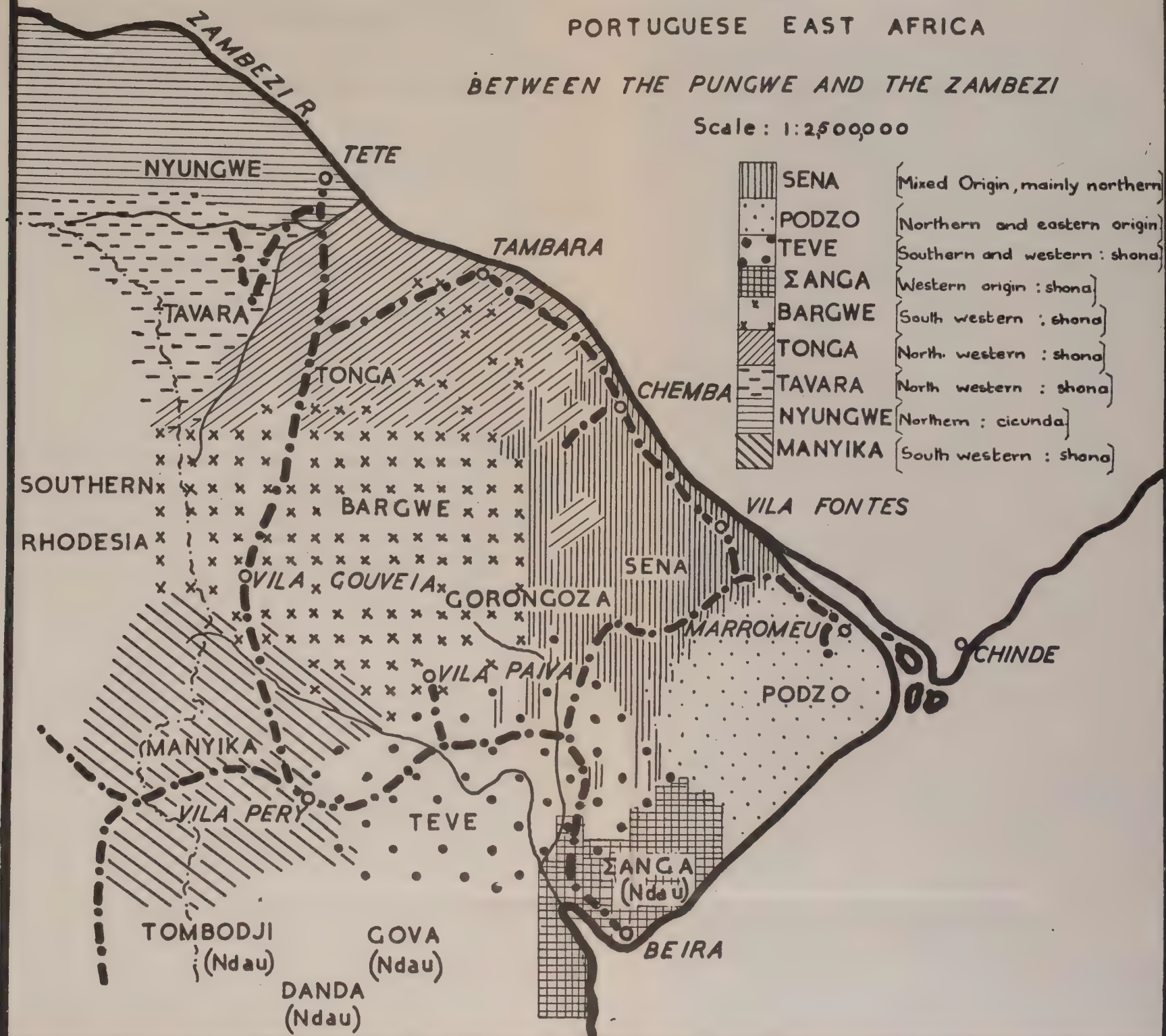
- Border of S. Rhodesia
- Borders of Circumscriptions.
- Railways.
- Our Itinerary.
- ◎ Portuguese Administration.
- ◎ Portuguese Post.
- Our Camps.



ETHNOLOGY of PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA

BETWEEN THE PUNGWE AND THE ZAMBEZI

Scale: 1:2500000



MAKHALIRO NA MALUSO GHA KUSANGA
HABITS AND CUSTOMS OF THE OLDEN DAYS
among the
TUMBUKA-KAMANGA PEOPLE

Translated and Edited by the
REV. T. CULLEN YOUNG, C.A., F.R.A.S.

Note: Though most of the material contained in the following has been incorporated in the Rev. T. Cullen Young's "Notes on the Customs and Folklore of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples," we consider the Tumbuka texts to be of sufficient value from the linguistic point of view alone to justify their publication here, Mr. Young's book containing only English notes.

(Editors, Bantu Studies)

DANGO LYA KUPOKERERA WALENDO

Kale kusanga likawako dango lya kupokerera walendo, wakatenge usange munthu akuthupila walendo alive mahara ; para wamuthupila mulendo panji ayegehe vintu mu mutima angakuphalira wuli-wuli ? Ndimu umu para usange walendo wiza pa kaya nanga wareke kuwamanya wakawapokereranga makola ghene na kuwapyerera nyumba na kuphika vyakulya, sima na madende ghaweme gha nyama na nkuku na wogha na mphangwe ya kamuganje yomizo ya kurunga nthendero ; wogha nagho ghomizo ghakulunga nthendero ; mu nyumba pa !

Ndipo para walyako sima mwenecho wa muzi akuwachemaso waye ku nyumba yake uku kuli phele mwakuti akasanguluskane nawo. Skono ndiko wayamuphara twakusingo chifukwa wasanguluka umu wamwa tuphele. Skono wakuchita ntaula, wasaza wawo wawaleka mumu mu nyumba iyo wawapyelera, wakulinda zisima zinji wakulyapo, chifukwa walumewakuru kuti wakawangako ruwilo cha ; wakasoweranga chomene na wanyaŵo uko wakumwa phere. Wakudumba makani wakuseka, kuli, " Ha, ha, ha ; chasa wa skono " ; wakukhala pamoza na mwenecho muzi para wakiwandula ndipo tiwamanyanenge na wabale wawo penepapo umu mbere watenge mbawaka. Ndipo na para wangupulika nkondo tiwaphalenge chifukwa umu wasanguluka munyawo wawasanguluka ; ndipo wanthu wakufumya twakumutima.

Ndipo lero chiZungu chino, para wiza walendo mwenecho muzi wali waka sizibu ; kuli, " Skono walendo wali nyumba tiwagonekheku ; " wali, " Afumbenge mwenecho muzi." Mungatenge nchichi ichi chawapuvya umu wakukhumba uZungu kulyera pa chitangaja ; kweni wakukhumba wakuwamanya ndiŵo wakuti umu nawo walikuwamanya wakulya nawo pamoza pa chitangaja. Apera ndizo nchindi izi zizakoso zgachiZungu chino ; kupyera nyumba na kutandika mphasa kuvukuvu chili patali chomene.

Ndipo kale vikanozganga chomene usange walendo wiza pa kaya, muzi wose kupwepweresgana, kuli, " Walendo wiza wanandi chomene," skono wenecho waya kukati wamuzighilila vyakurya ; wakuphalira uyo wangufumapo chifukwa nawo wasekera umu vyakulya vikuzara chomene para wizapo walendo. Chifukwa wanakazi wakuphika wose na skono walendo wakutondeka pa kulya nanga wawe viwi machumi ghawiri. Para mbanandi wakupyera nyumba ziwiri ; nanga wawe wakutandara mazuwa ghawili luso ndulolulo.

THE LAW OF HOSPITALITY TO TRAVELLERS

In the old days there was a law of hospitality to travellers ; they held if a man was churlish with travellers he was foolish ; when one was churlish with a traveller how could he pass on whatever he had brought with him in his heart ? And so it was that if travellers came to a village though they might not know them, they used to receive them properly and sweep out a house for them and cook food, porridge with good relishes of meat and fowl and mushrooms and boiled leaves dried to make the ground-nuts taste properly ; the mushrooms also dry for the same reason ; the hut all set out !

When they have eaten, the head of the village calls them to go to his house where there is beer that he may enjoy things with them. Now it is that they will tell whatever they have in their mind (lit ; " the little things of the throat ") because they are enjoying the drinking of beer. While thus engaged their boys whom they left to watch the porridge in the hut the people swept for them, are eating some of it because the old men were never in a hurry ; they were having a good time there drinking beer. They are passing the news and laughing, " Ha, ha, ha ; this day's friendship ! " They are sitting with the headman there explaining about themselves, they will come to know who they (i.e. the travellers) are and their relatives though previously they were not thought to be anyone special. And any news of fighting they will tell since they are enjoying themselves and people disclose what is in their heart.

To-day in this European time when travellers come the village head is annoyed ; he says, " Now the travellers are asking where they may sleep they have been told that they may ask the head of the village." You do not need to ask the reason of the difficulty, since people desire the European way of eating at a table ; but they wish people with whom they are acquainted to eat with them at table. In short, these are the manners that have come in with the Europeans ; sweeping out huts and spreading mats generously is very far (from the mind).

Long ago things were arranged excellently when travellers came to a village ; all the village was whispering together, " Travellers have come, a lot of them," and the headman is away inside to make the preparations for food ; they even tell those who have been absent because they are glad, seeing that food is plentiful when travellers come. It is because all the women must cook and the guests are unable to tackle the food even though there may be twenty of them. When they are many the people sweep two huts ; even though they may stay over two days, the custom is just the same.

Kutawuzgana ndiko nako wakatawuzgananga makola ; wakatenge, "Maulene mwiwa, maulene mwiwa," kenekanandi ; skono para wamara, "Kwadulachi (? "kwadumulachi") waKamanga? Mtende pera, wa-Kamanga."

Makhaliro gha kusanga

Skono nkumunenerani makhaliro gha wanthu na wanangwa wawo na lusungu lwaŵo na wuchizi waŵo nanga Chikuramayembe wati wiza fumu yaŵo.

Kakhaliro kaŵo ndi aka ; para wambana zawe wakulasana na mivwi mu lutwe, wanyaŵo kura wanyaŵo kuno ; ndipo para wafwapo yumo panji wawiri, ndipera zawe lwamara kukoserezga cha. Kuŵenge namachero tiŵalipenge mitupa iyo yafwa ; wakalipananga vitunthuru panji mbuzi panji mayembe panji matonje panji vibo vya michere.

Ndipo para mulendo wiza wafuma kutali wambura kumumanya, waka-mupokereranga makora ghene na kumutawuzga, "Maulene, maulene, kwadumulachi? mutende pera waKamanga." Wachita ntaula wapokerera wuta wakhe ku nthowa wasaza wa pa kaya. Ndipo para wamutawuzga, fumu ya pa kaya yikuya kukati yamuzighirira vyakurya mwakuti mulendo walye, panji walendo. Ndipo para fumu yazighirira vyakulya, nyumba nayo wakupyera na mphasa nazo nga wakutandika.

Skono para wawona kuti mphasa watandika fumu ngayikutuma musaza, yiri, "Kawacheme walendo wizekawanjizga mu nyumba, ŵothenge moto ; mpapo skono pawaro." Ndipera para musaza ngawakuluta ku walendo ku mphara, ngawakukhala pasi, wali, "Wakuchema kukati : " para walendo wali, "E!" para musaza ngawakuwuka wakutora mawuta gha walendo akudangira nagho, ŵene wakwiza munyuma, ngawakunjira naŵo mu nyumba wakusanga mphasa watandika kare, vibo vya sima vyati waka mbwerere. . ! moto wati waka nyeketu. . ! mu nyumba mwathukira mwati waka fu. . !

The exchange of greetings was done most carefully; they said, "*Maulene mwiwa; maulene mwiwa*," over and over again¹; and when they had finished that, then, "What has happened with you, you Kamanga people?" (lit; "what has crossed your path?"); "Nothing but peace, you Kamanga people."

Ancient customs

Now I am to relate to you the customs of the people, their good breeding, their kindness, their gracious ways; though Chikuramayembe came to be their chief.

Their way was this; if any dispute arose and there was anger they wounded each other with shafted arrows, one side here the other there; and if one or two died then the anger died down, they did not persist with the matter. On the following morning they would pay damages for whoever had died; they used to exchange men or women in compensation, or perhaps goats or hoes or bundles of cotton or baskets of salt.

And if a traveller came from a distance, though unknown, they used to receive him properly and greet him, "*Maulene, maulene; kwadumula-chi? mutende pera waKamanga*."² Having so done the lads of the village took his bow from him at the path. And when they had greeted him the headman goes to see about preparing food that the traveller may eat, or the travellers. And when he has seen about the food the people sweep out a hut and lay down also mats.

Now when he sees that the mats are spread the headman sends a lad, he says, "Go and call the travellers and bring them into the hut that they may warm themselves at the fire; the wind is cold outside." And so the lad goes to the travellers at the talking place and sits down and says, "They are calling you inside;" whereupon the travellers say, "Right," then the lad rises and takes the travellers' bows and leads the way, they themselves following behind, he goes into the house with them and finds the mats spread already, baskets of food in quantity, the fire steadily glowing and the whole house warm.

¹ This greeting is untranslatable so far as the present-day speech is concerned, and obviously belongs to a period earlier than the settlement in Northern Nyasaland. It apparently links up with dialects to the west, and *mwiwa* may point to an earlier connection with the Wiwa people in Northern Rhodesia though no such connection is claimed by the present population to whom the writer of these pages belonged.

² See footnote above.

Skono wenecho kuwaro wali, "Wasungwana mwe!" "u-u!" "Torani maji muye nagho mu walendo mura." Para wasungwana nawo ngawakuyegha maji ghakumwa walendo na ghakugeza pakulya sima.

Yikuchita ntaula, fumu yiri ku nyumba yinji uko yapachira phere. Skono yikuti, "Wangakhuta waka sima walendo;" ngayikutumaso musaza, yiri, "Kawacheme walendo; tizemusowera." Para musaza ngawakuruta ku walendo, wayakafika wali, "Wanyinu wakuti, "tizekasowera," para walendo wali, "Eso!" skono wakuchita ntaula walyapo sima, para ngawakuwuka, musaza pambere nga wakufika ku nyumba ya fumu, musaza wali, "Wiza walendo." Fumu yiri, "Wanjizga waKamanga;" para musaza wali, "Njirani," para walendo ngawakunjira, fumu yiri, "Khalani pasi pa vipasa, waKamanga." Para walendo ngawakukhala pasi pa mphase zgenengweme, nthema ya phere nayo yiri papo mwakuti walendo wasanguluke wamanye mwakuti wiza pa kaya ya ndamunthu.

Nadi para fumu yiri, "Tubara tuhenenehene utu, waKamanga; muye-zgeko wuwo;" akuchita ntaula akunena phere likari chomene liweme. Para walendo wakuwonga wali, "Yewo Ruhanga," panji "Yewo Chirambo, wakuchita ntaula maji ghapyo kale ghakwitha pa phere; para ngawakutekera mu ma jomera wakwithapo maji, wakumwa.

Skono wakwandula makora twakukaya ku kwawo uku wafuma, wakwandurira fumu umu wasanguluka tphere twawasanguluska. Skono waku-seka na fumu, wakukorana chasa na fumu kuli wa! wakuseka kuli, "Ha, ha; Ha, ha; acha!" umu wacha skono.

Kweni nanga wakachitanga nthura kuti wakuwamanye wose uko wafuma chara; wakawamanyanga panyuma. Skono wasanguluka wamwa tphere ndipo fumu tiyiwamanyenge kuti, "Kasi mwafuma kwakuti-ene kwali?"

Ndiwo wuchizi wa waKamanga kusanga.

Then the villagers outside call, "You girls!" (and the reply comes), "u-u." "Bring water and go with it to the travellers there." Then the girls carry water for the travellers to drink and for washing (before and after) eating the porridge.

Having done these things the headman goes off to a house where he has discovered beer. Then he says, "The travellers must not fill themselves with food and nothing else," and he sends a lad again, saying, "Go and call the travellers and let us enjoy ourselves." Then the lad goes to the travellers and says, when he reaches there, "Your friends say 'Let us enjoy ourselves;'" and the travellers say, "Certainly!" and now when they have taken what they want of porridge they get up, the lad leading, and come to the hut of the headman; the lad says, "The travellers have come," the headman says, "Bring the Kamanga in," and the lad says, "Enter." When the travellers have come in the headman says, "Sit down on these poor mats, you Kamanga people." Then the travellers sit down on the excellent mats and a pot of beer is there too in order that the travellers may rejoice and may know that they have come to the village of a man of substance (lit "of me who am a proper fellow.")

Then the headman says, "There's some poor sort of beer there, you Kamanga people; perhaps you would care to try it;" though doing this he is referring to strong beer of the best. Then the travellers thank, saying, "Thank you, Ruhanga," or "Thank you, Chirambo,"³ and the water is ready boiled when they do this for pouring in with the beer; then they dip out in the cups and pour in the water and drink.

Then they relate all the news of the village where they have come from, they lay it all out for the headman seeing they are happy with the beer that has rejoiced them. And they laugh with the headman, shaking hands with him, everything is very jolly, they laugh, "Ha, ha; Ha, ha; we *are* having a good time," since they are now thoroughly merry.

But notwithstanding they were so behaving yet he did not by any means know all about them all; they got to know each other later. When they had drunk and were happy then he would say, "And have you come perhaps, from So-and-so's Village?"

The politeness of the Kamanga people was like that.

³ Using the Ngoni form, *yebo* plus the clan name or surname, as the formula for thanking. This is now largely adopted through Ngoni influence but was not the early form, as the matrilineal clans did not have the same value placed upon the surname as was the case among the Ngoni, where clan name and inheritance passed from father to son.

Ndipo wuchizi wa wanakazi na wasungwana wakusanga nduwu. Para munthu ndi mulendo wafuma kutali nanga walive kumumanya, para wakurumba maji kuti wakamupanga maji chara, kweni wakamupanga phere pakudira bisi wamwe. Nanga wawe musungwana nayo tiwatore phere mu nyumba ya wanyina, chifukwa ukawanga muzilo kupa munthu maji. Ndipo para palive phere, maji nagho wakanenge kuti, "Maji palive." Panji tiwanenenge kuti, "Lindaninge sima." Para walya sima ndipo maji nagho tiwamwenge.

Niwo wuchizi wa waKamanga. Kweni pulikani musaza wa msunjiro.

Musaza uyo kusanga akuti wawona walendo wiza pa kaya, fumu yawapokerera makora ghene yawafumba maronje, nawo wapokerera maronje makora ghene. Para fumu yaya kukati mwakuti yikazighirire walendo vyakurya, yikuzighirira na kupyera nyumba na kuwatandikira mpasa.

Para nga nadi wakutandika mpasa, zisima nazo mbwerere . . . ! zinji pa nyama, zinji pa wogha, zinji pa nchunga, zinji pa somba, zinji pa usipa, zinji pa bwenka ; para iyo musaza akawona nteura, wali,

"Acha ! ine nane nkwana ; walendo awa wizekanya sima zgose izi ?

Para nga wakuruta, fumu wayireka kuko kukati, para musaza wali, "ndinolepo kambavi kane ndiwovwile kusalira," ngawakukula kambavi kake wakunora wakuwalawiska walendo, wali,

"Pano lero manye ; alekani ndinolepo kambavi kane ndiwovwire kusalira."

Para walendo wali,

"Na mukuti uli para ; pali umoyo lero ise pano ?"

Wakusinizgana, wakunyung'umuka yumo-yumo, kuli nyung'umo ! kuli, "ndiye kwaro," wakuzgewera kuko yumo-yumo, waka wose ngwe !

And the politeness of the women and girls in the old days was this. When a traveller from a distance came, though an unknown person, and asked for a drink of water, they did not give him water but beer, fresh in a cup, to drink. Though it might be a young girl she would fetch beer from her mother's hut, because it was against the rules to give anyone water. And when there was no beer they would refuse saying, "We have no water. Or they would say, "Wait for porridge." When he had eaten porridge then he would drink water with it.

That was the politeness of the Kamanga people. But listen to the tale of the boy (who was) ill behaved.

There was once upon a time a boy and strangers turned up at the village. The headman received them properly and asked their news and they also exchanged news pleasantly. Then the headman went in to see about getting food ready for the travellers and a house swept for them and mats spread.

When then they spread the mats and dishes of porridge in quantity, some with meat, some with mushrooms, some with beans, some with fish, some with whitebait and some with a sticky vegetable relish, a youth seeing all this said,

"Well, I never ! this surprises me ! ⁴ All this food for these travellers ! " and when they had gone (in to food), then he said,

"I'll sharpen my little axe and help to put an end to it."⁵ And he pulled out his axe-head and sharpened it, throwing glances at the travellers and saying,

"There's no saying what may happen here to-day ; let me get my axe sharpened and help them to finish things off."

Then the travellers said,

"What do you make of that ? it doesn't look healthy here for us does it ? "

And they make signs to each other privately, stealing away one by one (with the excuse) "I've got to go outside," until all had disappeared and the place was clear.

⁴ *Nkwana*, I am surprised. A very rarely heard word.

⁵ A play on two meanings of *kusalira*, to finish up, and, to make a clean sweep of.

Fumu yiri,

"Kachemani wälendo, somo mpepo pawaro wixenge mu moto."

Para wasaza wänji wäli,

"Wälendo wächimbira."

Para fumu yiri,

"Wächimbirachi kasi?"

Wasaza wäli,

"Kware wächimbira kamsunjiro umo watenge ndinolepo kambavi kane, ndiwowire kusalira."

Para fumu yiri,

"Owe! alekani! kuchimbira chara! musaza muhene uyo, a ndiyo akuti vyakurya aryenge iyo pera? ichi kofyefya wälendo nchichi? skono karayaningi vyakurya vinu, mwananga waka vyakurya vyane, mwa waku-sotoka myoyo, imwe! para mwawona wälendo mukofya wächichi? pa kaya pareke kwenda wälendo!"

Yikakaripa chomene fume, chifukwa wälendo wake wächimbira.

Skono musaza uyo wamutya ka Msunjiro; zina lyake.

KUZENGA MUZI KUSANGA

Mwananga uyu akuzenga muzi ndi uyo akupwererera wanthu, mukunusi cha; kuti wakamukhumbanga chara, na kwene nako wakamanyikwanga wachari musepuka munthini waka. Para wanyina waphika sima kulya yekha, apa wakuchema wanyakhe akusangana nawo madazi ghose, skono walume wakuru wakumanya kuti mwana uyo tiwawe wakuzenga muzi; alikutemwa wanyakhe chomene ndipo alikutemwa kukhala paphala, ndipo para skono para wawa mulala watenga, na kulima akulima chomene wamba kutunthumuka usambazi; akuwuwona chifukwa usambazi ukafumanga mu vyakulya.

Para wagula mbuzi wayakapazga ngazikuyakandana zikuyakawera kula chitupa se..! para wakagula na mberere nazo chitupa se..! wawa ka-

Said the headman,

"Go and call the travellers, it's cold outside let them come in to the fire."

Whereupon the other lads said,

"The travellers have run away."

And the headman said,

"What have they run away for?"

And the lads said,

"Possibly they have cleared out on account of the rudeness of the little fellow saying 'Let me sharpen my axe and help them to finish (the thing) off.'"

Then the headman said,

"Confound it all! there must be no running away! that's a bad youngster! Is it he that thinks that only he should eat food? What sort of thing is it to frighten away guests? Go and eat your own food now, you have spoiled mine, you without decency or control! What sort of travellers are they that when you see them you frighten them away? Travellers will stop coming to the village now."

He was extremely angry, the headman, because his guests had fled.

Now they called the lad by the name of Young Rudeness.

ESTABLISHING A COMMUNITY IN THE OLD DAYS

The man of family who establishes a community is he who is considerate of others; not a close-fisted man; and furthermore he used to be recognised while still a small boy. When his mother cooks porridge for him to eat himself he calls others to share with him always and now the senior men know that that child will be one who establishes a community; he loves his fellows and he loves to stay settled (i.e. not a wanderer), and when he grows up and marries he becomes a great cultivator and begins to increase wealth; this because wealth comes from having food.

When he has bought a goat he goes and places it out that there will be multiplying and they will return to him as a full goat-house. When

* One of the most insulting things to say: literally "you whose life, or nature, has broken out"; no longer a man in control of himself.

mphanda nayo skono. Ndimu wakazengeranga mizi ; para munthu wali na murandu wakwiza mwakuti " Ndidilileko : " para wati pasi para, " Nda-pya nda munthu wako watata ; ndipoke," kuzgokerako nkonyolo cha. Kweni ndipo akufumba akuti, " Mwanya murandu wali ? " para akumunenera kuti, " Ndaya mulandu wakuti," ndipo akuti, " Skono wakupenja vichi ? " ndipo wakuti, " Wakupenja mbuzi ziwiri." Ndipo akunjira kukati akuya ku wawoli wakhe wayamuzighilila vyakulya, ndipera skono para wayakatu-wona tupere ngawakutuma munthu musaza wake kuyakamuchema mulendo mwakuti izekamwa nanga tupere ; skono ndipo amupenge mbuzi.

Nadi para skono nayo ngawakwiza kukati ; para mphasa watandika wakusowera wakumiwa tuphere chifukwa tuphere ndito tukawanga na wana-ngwa umu tukusanguluska. Skono wasanguluska wakuseka, waruwa mula-ndu uwu wiziranga umu mbere, wanguwa na njala. Skono munthu wali, " Fumu ndiyo yilikwenerera kukhala nayo ; " ndimo umo wakazengeranga mizi yikulu kale umu wakawanga wanangwa chomene. Para wagone mulendo yura namachero ndipo amupenge mbuzi zgakuphokwera mura ndipo para wamupa wayakaphokwa ku mulandu wakhe ndimo tiwizirenge kuti, " Nkazenge na fumu yila chifukwa njalusungu." Na mbumba yake tundu . . ! na wamwali wenebwaweme nawo mawele chinga ! Fumu yikati maso yili, " nditolepo," wali, " Tolanangi, tisunganenge."

Ndimu wakatoleranga wanakazi umo wakawanga na uchizi wakupoke-rera walendo ; leka na mizi nayo yikakulanga, wanthu wakawanga wanandi ; wanji wakuchikazi awa wakumulondezga umu yawa nkhoswe.

CHISOPO CHA VULA

Kale kusanga, pala vula yaleka kulokwa kwa wa chilangalanga, wanthu wakawunjikananga mwakuti wasope, vula yilokwe. Ntheula pala waka-chemanga fumukazi zga pachalo waphike mabala ghakuyakitha, ku mathegha uku zili kugona fumu zenechalo. Skono pala waphika gha mabala vilungu kuwenge namachelochelo yose yawanthu nga yikongana, pala fumukazi yimoza iyo njilala pa kaya nayo uyo ndi mwana wa fumu zgenechalo icho.

he buys a sheep there also a full sheep-pen. He has become a man of weight and responsibility now. Thus used they to establish the community ; when some one came with a bit of litigation saying, " Will you give me a loan ? " grovelling there saying, " I have got my fingers burned in a case, my father ; will you rescue me ? " there was no turning of the cold shoulder. But instead he asks saying, " What is the case you have burned yourself with ? " and (the other) tells him " I am involved in such-and-such a case " ; and he says " What are they claiming ? " and he says, " They are claiming two goats." And he goes in to his wives to get them to make ready food and, of course, when he has gone to see if there is beer he sends a youth of his to call the traveller that he may come and have a drink in the first place ; then indeed he will give him the goats.

Truly then he comes inside when the mat has been spread and he enjoys himself drinking beer—since beer is the thing that made for good feeling because it comforted—Now, happy and laughing, he has forgotten the law-suit that he came with earlier being in need. Now the man says, " This is the chief that one should live with ; " thus it was they used to establish big villages long ago seeing they were very well bred. When that traveller has slept then he will give him the goats in the morning that he may be free from the law-suit and when he has got free then he will come saying, " Let me go and build with that chief because he is kind-hearted." And the whole circle of his family also and the girls in the prime of their young beauty. The chief lifts up his eyes and says, " Let me take one," and the man says, " Certainly, take one ; let us look after each other."

Thus they used to get wives through the politeness of their hospitality to travellers ; in so much that their villages grew in size, the people were many ; some even from the man's wives' relatives following the man since he had become influential as a guardian (i.e. a protector).

RITUAL FOR RAIN

In the old days when the rain broke off and there was a dry spell the people used to gather together to worship in order that the rain might fall. So when they had sent to call the leading women of the headman in the district they started to prepare the gruel (i.e. beer) for the offering, at the graves where sleep the country's chiefs. When they have brewed the beer (i.e. " gruel with yeast ; " an exact description of African beer) and the early morning has come, all the people gather where the chief woman of the village is belonging to the chief's family.

Pala nga wakuthwika chibiya cha bala nga wakudangila mbele, wanthu wose wakwiza pamanyuma, ndipo pala wayakafika kula ku mathegha gha zifumu nga wakukhala pasi wakwamba kukuthi lako mabala ghala wanguyegha ku mitu yamadindi napo wakupandangako vithontho mu makuni mukati. Skono pala mulala uyu walipo, fumu yanalume yikwamba kuyowoya yili, " Mwawiwanda! na wachikhang'ombe! waskala-ng'ombe! wachipoka-wawoli! wanthantha! waChiuta wa leza! mutimile ta wanthu wino, tumani vula ta wanthu tiphokwe." Wakuchita nthaula, ghanyake mabala wathilaso na mu makuni ghakulu chomene, wali, " Waleza! timilani ta wanthu, tumani vula." Pala skono wati wamara kusopa ngawakutula phele lyene ngawakuphika maji; wakuchita nthaula mbumba yose pala wasopanga yakuwanga mapi kuli, " U-U-U." Skono pala wati wamara kusopa ngawakukhala pasi pafupi waka wamwe phele lyawo kwenekuko. Skono wati wamala kumwa wamba kubyalikana bweka na mulala na mwana munthini bweka wasungwana na madoda; kopa palive skono kula, chifukwa nkhuvisopo. Skono wakuwuka kula watema mahamba wawala wose na mwana wamunguwo. Skono tiwambenge kwimba, kuli, " Bingo lila, ngaliwona ngalitola." Skono wakuchita nthaula wakwendakwimba wima uku wakuvina wakudenywa wakunyetwelela; pala wakwendakuvina wima wakuruta lusumu lwaawo lwene lulu lwa " Bingo lila, ngaliwona ngalitola." Pala waka bingo syu! vula teghu chapachapa; wanthu nyomphonho; ndipo wakuvina wuwo wayapatukana pakunjila mu zinyumba. Skono pala wati wanjila mu nyumba ndi vula pera wusiku wose na machelo muhanya wose dazi bwa! na usiku, usiku wose ngwe. . .! Skono ndiyo vula katukatu, skono ndipela njakulokwa waka visuke vyakulya kukhoma. Ndicho chisopo cha vula.

CHISOPO CHA MULWALI

Pala munthu wawala panji mwana, wakatolanga ya ngoma panji ya wulumano kuruta ku ng'anga kuya kawukwa. Pala ndi ng'anga yanarume yikawukwanga na khokhokho chombelo panji na fulu. Skono pala wakafika pa ng'anga wakatenge, " Ta wanyino tikuti mutiyezgepo," palu ng'anga nayo yili, " Mwa wanyithu, mwatungilachi?" Nawo wali, " Matunga." Pala

She then hoists to her head the pot of beer and starts out in front, all the people falling in behind and when they reach the graves of the chiefs they sit down and begin to pour out the beer at the head of the graves at the spots where they had planted the slips of the trees within (the excavated place, not trees planted round about but the actual slip planted to show where head lay). Then the senior man there, the headman, begins to speak saying, "Ye Spirits; *Chikang'ombe! Skalang'ombe! Chipokawawoli! Nthantha!* God of the lightning! stand up for us people and send rain." Thus doing they poured beer again and also among the big trees saying, "God! stand up for us folk; send rain." When they have finished praying they set down the beer and cook water; the whole group while the prayer was in progress had been clapping the hands and saying, "U-u-u." And when the worship is complete they sit down close together and drink their beer on the spot. When finished drinking they began to nudge and touch each other, both old and young, girl and man; there was no dread there because it was at worship.⁷ Then they got up and took leaves and arrayed themselves even down to the child in the skin on its mother's back. And they began to sing, saying, "Yonder is a cloud; if it will only see and bring" (i.e. "see us and bring rain to us"). Doing thus they move off dancing and where they stand to dance they shake the body and when they move off again after dancing their song is just this, "Yonder is a cloud; if it would only see and bring." Then comes the little cloud and the rain begins and the people get soaked and they dance as they separate going into their huts. Then all night it rains and in the morning right on through the day and through the night till daybreak. It is then it stops, and it is raining thus right on till the crops are firmly established. That is the worship for rain.

WORSHIP FOR SICKNESS

When a person is ill, or a child, the people used to take some maize or millet to the diviner to consult the lots. When it was a male medicine-man he used to use the rod and the board or the tortoise.⁸ When they reached the medicine-man they said, "We your friends say that you may make trial for us;" then the diviner says, "You who are my friends, what

⁷ Compare here the "dancing before the Lord" in the O.T. and the association of special licence with festival and religious dancing in various areas and cultures.

⁸ Divination was generally done in one of two ways, either with a rod held above a sounding-board by both diviner and enquirer, or else with a tortoise shell suspended on a string. In both cases the decision was given by a downward plunge when the diviner judged the moment suitable and always after the mention by the inquirer of a recognised cause of illness as in the case above, where a snake entering the hut stands for visitation of a departed spirit.

ng'anga ngayikuzakanjila mu nyumba yamutola matunga, yikwiza pa chombelo; pala yili, "Zaninge." Pala ngawakwiza, pala ng'anga yili, "Kolaniko;" pala ngawakuwuka yumoza, ngawakukolako. Pala ng'anga yili,

"Kasi wanyithu watungila matenda?" Pulawani, pulawani.

"Ani panji ndi njoka yanjila mu nyumba?" Pulawani, pulawani.

"Panji ndimawika ghanji?" Pulawani, pulawani.

"Panji nchiwanda cha wanyinarwo?" Pulawani, pulawani.

"Panji nchiwanda cha wisewukulu?" Pulawani, pulawani."

Skono pala wadandaula vyose ivi, ndipo tiwawa tumenge nawo mwakuti wandule makola, akuti, "Skono andulani, mwa wanyani;" Pala wanyakhe wali,

"Nadi ise tawona matenda;" nayo wali, "Eya"—(kho!)"—"Eya: penepapo vichi?"

Pala wanyakhe wali "Ndayiwe njoka nadi yikanjila nyumba." Para nayo wali, "Eya"—, (kho!)"—"Eya."

Skono pala wandula vyose ngawakuleka, chombelo skono wakwandula waka, ali, "Njoka yila nchiwanda cha wanyinakulu; mukatole kawinga-wazimu mukawunjike wufu pa lukolo; mwana wayamuphokwa." Nadi pala wakuwela kukaya wakwandulila wanyawo awa wangukhala kukaya; pala nadi kuwenge na misi ngawakutola wufu na kawingawazimu ngawakuwunjika wufu kawingawazimu wakukwepula, wali, "Mwaviwanda mwawanyinakulu, mulekezgani mwana, wagone tulo, ngawakuwuwata maji mu mulomo, kuli, "Pepe." Wakuchita nthaula wanyunyila wufu wati waka chokwa; wakuti wagundumuka watenge viwanda vyalyapo: nadi pala kuwenge namachero wasange wagundumuka, wali, "Vyalyapo viwanda." Ndicho chisopo cha mulwali.

NTHENGWA YAKUFIKIZGA

Nthengwa yakufikizga ndiyo iyi wawiske wa mwanalume wawona musungwana pa nyumba ya munyawo yunji, uyu nayo walikutora mwanakazi

has brought you here ? ” and they say “ The lots.” Then the diviner goes into his house to get the divining instruments and comes back to the place where his sounding-board is ; then he says, “ Come here ; ” when they come the diviner says “ Take hold of this,” and one gets up and takes hold. Then the diviner says,

“ Have our friends come because of illness ? ” (the rod pounds up and down).

“ Is it perhaps a snake has entered the hut ? ” (the rod pounds up and down).

“ Possibly some other misfortune ? ” (the rod pounds up and down).

“ Or is it their mother’s spirit ? ” (the rod pounds up and down).

“ Or their grandfather’s spirit ? ” (the rod pounds up and down).

And when he has mentioned all these he sends them to take up the tale, saying, “ Now you, my friends, say what you have to say ; ” then those people say,

“ It is quite true that we have seen sickness ? ” “ Oh, ho ! (knock) ; oh, ho ! ”

“ It may be that a snake has entered the hut ? ” “ Oh, ho ! (knock) ; oh, ho ! ”

Then when they have mentioned everything the board (i.e. the owner of the board) takes up the tale and announces, “ The snake is the spirit of the grandmother ; go and gather the bush called The Ghost Chaser and collect flour in the verandah ; the child will be saved.” Then indeed when they get home they recount everything to the relatives who had remained at home and when the evening comes they take flour and the ghost chaser, heaping together the flour and sprinkling (the sick one) with the ghost chaser and they say, “ Oh spirit of the grandmother, let the child alone that it may sleep ; ” and they spray water from the mouth, *pe-pe* ! Having done thus they set up the flour that it may stand in a heap, believing that if it becomes tumbled about then the spirits have partaken ; and truly, in the morning, when they find that it has been tumbled about they say, “ The spirits have partaken.” That is the ritual for sickness.

MARRIAGE BY ARRANGEMENT⁹

Marriage by arrangement is this (where) the father of the youth has seen a girl at the house of some other of their friends who himself has

⁹ lit. being brought to it by others.

mwenecho, nyumba yili waka fu . . . Para wakati watwacheme zuwa limoza ku tuphere wakayamukumwa mwene mumo wakasanga nyumba yili waka fu., wakawoneso kana nako kasungwana kalikukhoma.

Wakukawona apo ayegha maji ghakumwela phere. Wakawoneso mavwaro nagho, kalikuvwara makora ghene, ndipo wakawone mandamba nagho ghali waka dyamphu, nyina wakukanozga makora ghene.

Skono para wenecho mu mutima pera wali,

"Kasungwana aka tindifikizge mwana wani, wangaleka kuyana kasi?" wakujiifumba wekha mu mutima pera. Nadi para wayekati ku kaya yawo wamba kuphalira muwoli watwo, wali,

"Nda munyako ndawona mwana musungwana wa kwa uyuuyu; kasi wangareka kuyana na mwana uyu?"

Para mwanakazi,

"Inya namwe; waleke kuyana? ka ndi nthanga?" Skono ndimo wakatumulanga thenga kuyakayowoya na watwiske wa musungwana na wanyina. Skono para wali,

"Hawe! ka mbenenawene ndipo wasunganenge; tazomera," para thenga ngalikuruta ku watwiske wa mwana mwanarume, wali,

"Wanyinu nawo wazomera, wati ndipo wasunganenge; para nawo chimwemwe mumu, para

"Wa mwana, para lelo wopengepo; ungawenderanga pa muntu yura; mwana musungwana yura ndi Bwezi wako, takufikizga."

Nako kura wali,

"Wara lelo ungaawonekeranga chara; mbawusovyara."

Nadi para kutwenge na mise nga wakufumya chuma, panji mayembe ghatatu tonje limoza; ngavikuruta na thenga watwika mu thumba, pa waka cha. Para ngawakufika muthenga wakuti wakawone wene nyumba wali, "Wanthu wiza." Para watwiske wa mwana nga wakwiza, para, "Kachemani wauyo na uyo, wize kuno;" para ngawakuruta wana wayakachema mwakuti wizakapokerera chuma cha pa mwana watwo.

Para thenga, "Nda munyinu ndayakaweraso; makani ngeneghaghala."

married a worthy wife and the house is well-ordered. When invited one day to beer he went and drank there and found a well-ordered home and saw also a mature girl.

He sees her there bringing water to drink with the beer. He saw also her mode of dress, that she dresses properly and the dressing of her hair that the ringlets are hanging neatly, the mother having turned the girl out properly.

Now then the man in question says to himself,—

“ I shall bring my child to a marriage with this girl, will they not suit each other ? ” he asks himself in his heart. Then surely when he reaches home he begins to tell his wife :—

“ I your companion have seen a girl, the daughter of So-and-so ; will she not suit this child here ? ”

Then the woman,

“ You’re right ; why should she not suit ? Is she not his age ? ” Then indeed they used to send a messenger to speak to the father and mother of the girl. And those said,—

“ Surely ! aren’t they group-acquaintances and will look after each other ? we agree,” then the messenger goes off to the boy’s father and says,—

“ Your friends also agree, they say that they may look after each other,” and now there is rejoicing in (the village) ; then :—

“ Boy ! have a care yonder now ; you can’t go casually at that person’s place ; that girl yonder is your betrothed, we have arranged it for you.”

And yonder they say,—

“ Don’t show yourself to those people yonder at present ; that is your father-in-law.”

And so then in the evening they (i.e. at the boy’s village) bring out goods, possibly three hoes and a bit of cotton ; they go with the messenger who puts them in a (goat-skin) bag ; not carrying them openly. And he arrives and the people see him ; they say, “ The man has come.” Then the father of the girl comes and says, “ Call So-and-so and So-and-so to come here,” and children go off to call them in order that they may come to the reception of the bride-price.

Then the messenger, “ I your friend have returned ; the news is the

Para, “*Andule, andule.*” Nga *wakupokerera chuma cha mayembe, tonje likuwera likizenge na chinyake.*

Para nga wakuruta thenga, wali, “*Chuma wapokerera ; tonje ndiloili ; natwo wakumanya kuti ndilo likuchema vinyake. Para skono wakugona wakugona, mazuwa ghenemanandiso, viboghobogho wakulya phele sima pa zinkhuku na pa nyama na pa wogha na pa mphangwe, dende lyakutendera ; pa nchunga cha ; ndi muzilo. Para wati wagonapo mazuwa ghaluta ngawakuphika viphekilo vyakuchemera chuma chawo. Vikwiza na mise ; na usiku para wakusaka, namwe na mawufu lyande na maphele nyumba futu . . ; skono para walya viphekilo iwo wakutola jembe wakuwika mu vimpani ndipera, panji chilundo ; vimpani na vibo vikuwera. Skono pamanyuma wakutolaso mayembe ghawiri panji ghatatu na chila chikawera chilundo panji tonje ; wakumupa thenga likuwika mu thumba likuruta navyo ku wawiske wa mwana mwanakazi.*

Para ngakupokerera vyose, chinyake kuwera-cha.

Skono para mwana wakula umwali, ndipo wakatumanga wazamba kuyakawula mwakuti, “*mkamwana winu wakula umwali.*” Pa kuwula wakatenge :—

“*Ndawula uzamba ; He-e-e ! yingawa nthengwa ; ndawula wanthu.*”

Skono para wafuma wa mu nyumba, nyinavyara ndiyo wakatenge :—

“*Henyani 'we ; henyani 'we ; He-He-He- ; e-e ;
Henyani 'we ; henyani 'we ;*”

Wakuchita ntaula wakuwafupa vyakulya, nyumba zgose kwendamu kuwawula. Skono para wamara muzi wose ndipera wakuwera ku kaya kura wafuma.

Ndipo skono tiwamunjizenge mu nyumba :

Wakuchita ntaula wangumukhalika ku thondo apa wawonekanga ku wakaziwakuru mwakuti wamupe nanga mulumila pamoza na mufumu wake, mwakuti para mwanakazi wapata mufumu wake zuwa linji, watenge, “*Ka nkarya mulumila pamoza na iwe ; skono kundipata wuliwuli ?*” Ndipo para watolana na yunji nkondo yili papo, tiwala-sanenge na muvwi apo, vitanda tivigonenge ; ndipo mphakwenda vituntulo na zimbizi na majembe na matonje na zinguwo, kwakuluska umo wakatolela iwo ku wawi-

same that we spoke of previously ; ” then, “ Make it clear, make it clear ! ” and they receive the hoes, the cotton going back to come again with something more.

Then the messenger goes and reports, “ They have accepted the goods ; here is the cotton,” and they know that more is asked. Then after some days pass, a good number of days, when they eat and drink, using fowl and meat and mushrooms and boiled leaves as relish but not beans ; that was tabu. Then when the period has passed they cook a feast for the calling together of the goods. They come in the evening and at night, I tell you, they are rewarded with any amount of flour and beer ; a great show in the hut ! then when they have eaten the feast they put a hoe into a pot merely, or it may be a length of cloth ; but pots and baskets return. Then later they take again two or three hoes and whatever it was went and came back, the cotton or the cloth ; they give to the messenger and he puts into the bag and goes off with them to the girl’s father.

There they accept the lot ; nothing is returned.

Now when the girl has reached maturity then they send the elder women to make the announcement that “ your daughter-in-law has come of age.” In making the announcement they said :—

“ I announce the marriage dance ; *He-e-e !* there can be a marriage ; I inform the people.”

Now then when the inhabitants emerge from the huts the boy’s mother says,

“ Welcome ! Welcome ! *He-He-He :*
Welcome ! Welcome ! ”

And so doing they reward (the visitors) with food, every house being visited with the announcement. When they complete the tour of the whole village that is all and they return to the village whence they came.

Now as to the “ housing ” of the girl :

Having reached this stage they had already taken the girl out into the bush in order to administer the *mulumilo* medicine along with her young man so that if the girl should ever reject the man, he will say, “ Did I not eat *mulumilo* along with you ? why do you reject me now ? ” And if she is taken by any other man there will be fighting and wounding with arrows and men will be killed ; payments in compensation will be exchanged, beads and hoes and cotton and goat-skins, more than the

ske chimalo. Chifukwa uzomozi ukawa wakofya chomene; mulanda wakochanga pa moto panji kukoma waka.

(Ndi lelo chiZungu ichi leka uzomozi wayuyuka; kale wanthu wakajisungililanga chomene ku wawoli wa wanthu; na kumukola pa kuwoko chara. Uli waka para wamukora pa kuwoko? hawafwa cha?)

Ndipo para sono usange wamunjizga mu nyumba wagonamu mwezi yiwiri panji yitatu, wakuphika maphere ghanandi chomene ghakumwimbila nkhanila mwakuti walulutanga ku mufumu wakhe. Pa kumwimba para wakutora jembe panji tonje; skono para ghapya maphere mise uyo wa gule wakwiza nawa-nawa wenecho mbuzamba;—uzamba ndiwo wakimbanga mu nyumba mwa ku mwali uko wANJI wamupakata mwali.

Ng'oma zikulira, pa mulomo wakwimba, malinji, wakukuwatila wakuuwe nkhenyula afa walikumanya kuvina chomene.

Ndipo kuwaro nako mbeleka na mukocho, wanthu wakugundana. Wa mbeleka ndiwo wakavyandawukanga waka, kuli, thithiki . . ; vyandarwu . .

Pa kwimba wakatenge,

“Wamuwelwele wangukoma nkhulawira wehe! Ahe-he!”

Skono wakuchita ntuula wenecho wa uzamba watwo wachemerezga kale papo na misi-mise, kuti:—

“Mwimbe makola vilele; uzomozi chara; ulyani wose uwe patali; kuche makola, kupulika kantu kahene chara pa gule wa mwana wani pano.”

Ndipo para skono wimbe usiku wose ngwe . . , ndipo mwali usange wakawa mukali pa wusungwana wakhe panji wakamuwonanga akatukana-na na wanyina panji akalemeranga wakaziwakuru, wasokwa mu nyumba mura; kusina na wakanyo na zinjowe, alire usiku wose chifukwa wakamukombolanga wanyina mwakuti wamulange chomene umu wakalekanga kupulika wanyina na wakaziwakuru; na kwima para wimanga wanthu pa wusu-

value of goods that were received from the boy's father. Because infidelity was a terrible thing ; an unbefriended person they used to burn or kill simply.¹⁰

(Now in European days infidelity has become a light thing ; long ago people kept themselves most carefully from other men's wives ; not even touching with the hand. Would you be long scatheless if you touched her with the hand ? Would you not be dead ?)

Now at this stage if they " housed " the girl she stayed in the hut for two or three months, and they prepare quantities of beer for the final " singing and dancing " of her so that she may go with rejoicing to her man. When the time for the dancing comes they take a hoe or a bit of cotton and when the beer is brewed, in the evening the *uzamba* dancers come, whoever is of the recognised *uzamba* ; the *uzamba* is what they have been singing in the house where some have been holding the girl in their arms.

Drums are sounding, there is singing and clapping of hands and some dance jerking the muscles ; those who are expert dancers.

Outside (the hut) there is the Mbeleka dance and the *Mkocho* in which the people bump (? rub) against each other. The *Mbeleka* dancers are those who danced rolling the head, jerking the body and scraping the feet.

In the song they use these words,

" I was looking on when Chiberewere died : *Ahe-he !* "

And doing thus the principals in the festivities used to call out as evening fell,

" Sing and dance properly ; no infidelities ; keep all risky things away ; let the dawn come nicely without anything objectionable being heard at the dancing of my child."

And there they sing the night through till dawn. And the girl, if she has been bad-tempered in her childhood or if one has seen her exchanging abuse with her mother or behaving unfittingly towards the older women, she is in trouble in the house yonder ; prickings with sharp things and finger-nails, she will cry the night through because she was handed over to them by her mother that they would instruct her seeing

¹⁰ The word translated " payments in compensation " does not refer to the various types of goods whose names immediately follow. It refers to men or women exchanged in compensation, whom failing then the other types of goods could be used,

ngwana. Uyo wasokwa ; vimbina kuli twi ! wānji zinjowe kuli chikibu ! skono watenge waka masozi fwi . . . fwi !

Kwene para wanguwa mwanangwa ndiposo na kuzika ndiposo na nchindi zakuwachindika wakaziwakuru na walumewakuru wambura kukwasika muntu apa wali, wamupakata wali chete. Ndipera para skono wamunge marango ghakukhalira ku mufumu wakhe, gha mu nyumba na kaphikiro a sima, na kakuluwiro ka nyumba na kapyelelo ka nyumba.

Skono para kwacha, dazi lakwerapo wakumugezeska na kumuphakazga mafuta na kumuvwalika matuskalo mu thako na mu singo, na nguwo yinyake ku muwongo na yinyake ku maso, denga pera. Skono pakumuwona watowa chomene umu wafuma skono mu nyumba pera. Skono pakumuwona mwana wa wene, wati waka, " Mawe le chinga," ndipo skono tiwadangenge waya nayo ku thondo kuyakamuwona para ngwakulangwa.

Nadi para walute nayo ku thondo wakamulinge kura, para wasanga ngwakulangwa, kamphundu nga-nga ! Madoda ghawuka pasi apa ghangukhala, ghakupinga mwakuti " chuma talya makora pera." Wakusekerera chifukwa wakambwambwanthanga chomene mwakuti wungawonekapo usomozizi, chifukwa " mwana ngwakutengwa tili na chuma cha wene ; " leka waka-pinganga chomene.

Ndipo para wazamba wasanga zgarwalula, wakamufumbanga mwali, wakatenge," Ndi njani wa mwaniwe ? " para ndipo napo waphale mufumu wakhe ndipo usange mufumu wakhe akawa mulankhasi, apo waphokwa mwali uyo. Ndipo usange waphala mwanarume yunji, kantu kawuka ; zimbatatizilirenge ; namachero pali vitanda tivigonenge apo.

Ndipo usange mwali ngwakulangwa ndipo tiwimbenge tiwatenge :—

" Kana kaweme nkalangwa na kale, he ! nkalangwa na kale, he !

Kana kaweme nkalangwa na kale."

Lusumu ulu ndwakufumira nayo ku thondo.

Wakuchita ntaula, wanyina na wawiske na wadumbu wakhe chimwemwe mumu, wasekera pera ; mwana watula soni mwakuti wantu wangatenge,

that she had been in the habit of disobeying her mother and the elder women ; and being obstinate with people during her girlhood. One of that sort found trouble ! pinchings . . . *tui* ! others with their finger nails . . . *chikibu* ! now she can do nothing but whimper . . . *fwi* ! . . . *fwi* !

But where she had been properly brought up and quiet mannered and polite in her manners to the older women and men, without making trouble by her forwardness then they held her quietly in their arms. And they instructed her how she would behave towards her husband and the ways of housekeeping, the cooking of food, the polishing of the house floor and the sweeping of the house.

Now when dawn comes and the sun has climbed a little they wash her and anoint her with oil and put on beads round waist (lit. buttocks) and neck, and cloth back and front, the "bare minimum." And when they see that she is properly adorned then they come out from the house. Now when they see the child of the occasion they shout "Firm breasts" (i.e. equivalent to "ripe womanhood") and they go off with her to the bush to see if she has been one of proper habits.

Now when they go with her to the bush to examine her there, when they find that in truth she has been well conducted (i.e. has obeyed the rules of chastity) the women's cry breaks out ! The men jump up where they have been sitting, they caper about since, "we have honestly acquired the bride price." They rejoice, because they had been in terror lest unchastity be revealed since, "the child has been transferred and we have got the owner's goods ;" for that reason they leap with joy.

Where, however, the women in charge find that she had lost her maidenhood (lit. "that the honey had been rifled from the hive") they keep on asking the girl, they say, "Who is it, child ?" and if then she says the name of her rightful man, if the man is known to be inclined to loose ways, then the girl escapes. If, however, she names some other man then the thing becomes important ; the horns will sound and in the morning there will be dead bodies on the ground.

Where the girl is all right they will sing these words :—

"The child has been well mannered from her youth, *he* . . . !

Well mannered from her youth, *he* . . . !

The child has been well mannered from her youth."

This is the song with which they come out from the bush.

So doing there is joy among the parents and brothers ; the child has removed all chance of shame since people would have said, "Were you

"Kasi mwapokereranga vimalo uku mwana wina wali wani wanalume." Ukawa uhene chomene kale.

(Lero ndipo nthengwa yazgoka yakusambazigamo usambazi; wakuti uku nkupoka uko kupoka, umu wawona chiZungu ichi.)

Ndimu mura sono para wamara kwimba uzamba wanthu wamwa mapere wamara, wakuwera ku kaya zgaŵo; kwene para wafumanga nayo ku thondo wizamukurongora ku walume wakuru wamuwongozgenge mphuzi zga wuskalo wose pa kaya. Skono ndipo wawerenge ku kaya zgaŵo.

Skono para wagonapo ghachoko waka ndipo wakutola mbuzi ziwiri na pepe wakupa thenga likuyakapereka chifukwa wakumanya kuti "lero wakula mukamwana witu." Usange wayakapokelera mbuzi zila ndipera wakumunenera mwana waŵo, wali, "Lero kamutore muwoli wako," chifukwa kuti wakaperekanga nga nchibo chara. Nadi para mwana waŵo warute ku muwoli wakhe, jembe wayegha panji tonje panji chirundo chakuwika pa mphasa wamanye kuti watolana na mufumu wakhe waruta.

Ndipo para skono wawiske tiwalondenge munyuma; para wayakafika, wali, "Mwana wani mwawikunku?" wakupenja-penja. Skono thenga liri, "Khalani pasi, watata; uchizi pera." Skono para wakunjira mu nyumba wakutora jembe wakuwapa, ndipera wareka. Para usanga pali phere wakuwanjizga mu nyumba wakumwa phere walikudeka. Para wamwa wamara ngawakuwera.

Skono makhaliro gha mwali:

Para zisima zikwiza, kulya cha; kulawiska waka na munyakhe wuwo uyo akiza nayo uyakusompholwa nayo. Skona wanyinyara watole mphuzi zga wuskalo mwakuti wanyenge sima; ndipo wanyeko kachoko waka. Wizemo wanthu wawone, wali, "Awa! mwali wakulya cha sima;" para waphika zinyake watole wuskalo wawongozge kuti alyenge chomene, ndipo chara; para ngwakulanga akulya kachoko waka, kulya chomene cha ndipera. Wafika wize wa ku kwake skono ndiŵo wizekayegha vimbala na sima zipyo izi wazisanga mu nyumba umu muli mwali. Wakuchita ntaula wagona mazuwa ghasanu; skono para wawera wa ku kwake, ndipo nayo tiwamutumenge ku kwaŵo na jembe kuya kamupereka ku kwaŵo mwakuti akawinge wanthu ku kwaŵo. Skono ndipo izekawa mu nyumba. Akuchita ntaula alivi kukwaskana na mwanalume, ali padera. Skono para wawakake

intending to take people's goods while your child already has other men?" It was a very bad thing, long ago.

(Nowadays marriage has changed into a thing for getting rich by ; they say, " let me get goods wherever I can " since they see the European way).

When therefore they had finished the *uzamba* the people drank the beer and finished and went home ; but when they used to bring the girl from the bush they came and showed her to the elder men that all of them make her gifts of bunches of beads. Then indeed they would go away home.

Now when a short time passed, they (i.e. the boy's people) take a couple of goats female and male and give the messenger to take and hand over because they know that " our child by marriage is of age now." If the goats have gone and been accepted then they tell their child, " Go and take your wife now," because they did not hand her over as if she were a basket. Truly when their boy went off to his wife he carried a hoe or some cotton or a length of cloth to lay at her sleeping mat that they might know that she had taken up with her husband and was gone.

Then her father would follow after her and when arrived would say, " Where have you put my child ? " seeking everywhere the while. And the one who had been the messenger said, " Be seated, my father ; all's well." Then he would go into a hut and take a hoe and hand it over and the thing was finished. If there should be beer he would take the father into a hut and they would drink and be at ease. When he had finished drinking then he would go home.

Now as to the behaviour of the young woman :

When food comes, no eating ; merely looking at it and the same with her girl companion who had been brought away with her. Then the mother-in-law would bring a bunch of beads that she might eat the porridge and she would eat a very little. Others would come into the hut and say, " Dear me ! the girl is not eating " and they cook more food and bring beads to entreat her that she may eat fully, and yet it is of no use ; a well-brought up girl will eat little, not heavily. When her own people come, however, from her village they lift the gruel and fresh porridge which they find in the hut where the girl is. They do this after five days have passed and then when they have returned home the people (i.e. of the husband's village) will send her with a hoe to hand over to her people in order to take a final farewell of her group. While this is going

visunda pa matwoko wose na wana wuwo mwakuti skono wayamukwā mulala, wakuya ku mphase ; nadi para wawere kuya ku mufumu wakhe skono ndiko kwā mwanakazi ku mphase za mwanalume.

Skono nkhostwe zake zichali kupulikizga makutu ku mwana wawo mwakuti para tiwawe muntu mwenecho ; skono para wapulika kuti, " Hawe ! mwana yura wali pachanya," ndipo mitima yakhala pachoko waka, ndipo para wapulika kuti mwana wali na mwana munyake, aso chimwemwe mumu skono ; wasekera chomene ndipo chuma tiwagawanenge.

Wakuchita ntaula viphekilo vikwiza ku wukwene.

Ndipo usange mwana chawa chumba, mitima bi ! ndipo watenge, " Panji ndi mwanalume apa alive kutora munyake na kale ; tamanya wuli ?" ndipo " Tora yunji tiwone ! " Usange mwaka yapitapo yiwiri panji yitatu nadi para mwanalume atole yunji mwanakazi ngawakuwa pachanya, wali, " Ndi mwanakazi ndiyo nchumba ;" skono mwanalume wajitula soni, skono wamanyikwa mwanakazi.

Skono ndipo wawiske tiwayenge mu kwukwa mwakuti " nkachichi ? mwana withu wakhala waka ; myoyo yafipa na chuma chira ! " ndipo para wakhaira nkhanira uchumba, para pali yunji tiwamupenge kuti warwuske nyumba watule soni munyakhe.

(Ndimo wakachitiranga kale kusanga na mu wuNgoni wuwo ; chi-Zungu pera ndicho chananga nthengwa ya uchizi.)

Ndipo para wanangika mwana pakubaba napo wapakerekanga yunji kuti akawuske nyumba ya mukulu wakhe ; mwene wakhahenge waka awe waka nga ndi dumbu wake. Ndipo usange palive munyakhe, chuma chikaweranga mwana nayo akaweranga.

NTHENGWA YAKUFIKIRA

Nthengwa yakufikira ndiyi. Warara para wawona mwana musepuka wakura wawa kahurwa, murara skono wakati, " Mwana uyu wakura skono, wakwenera kupenja mwali timufikizge." Para wali, " Eso ; mwaneneska," ndipo para, " Iwe, ngana, skono wakula, wendenge makora muwoli wawene ;

on she has not yet lived with her man, she is separate. When, however, she has tied the little grass bracelets on the wrists of all her folk, including the little children, to indicate that she is now of the older people, she goes to wifehood ; on her return to her husband she becomes his wife indeed.

Yet those responsible for her are still turning their ears towards their child awaiting her attainment of full womanhood ; and when they hear the news, " You people ! that child of yours yonder is expectant," then the hearts are hushed with excitement, and when they hear that their child has a child of her own then indeed their joy is full and the bride-price will be shared round.

When this happens, cooked foods come to the young wife's people.

But if the child proves childless then there is despondency ; they will say, " Perhaps it is the man, since he has not been already married, how can we tell ? " and then (they say,) " Take another and let us see ! " If a year or two passes, having taken another wife and she becomes pregnant, they say " It is the woman who is incapable of bearing " and the man has lifted the shame from himself, it is known to be the woman.

Her father will go to consult the diviner with the question, " Why is this ? our child remains unproductive ; our hearts are in despair about those goods," and if the girl remains barren beyond doubt and there is another available they will hand her over in order to raise up a household and remove the reproach from her sister.

(That is how they were doing in the old days and among the Ngoni ; it is the European ways that have spoiled the marriage of gracious custom).

And if anything goes wrong at the birth of a child to incapacitate (the woman) they used to hand over another to raise up a house for her elder sister ; she remaining there in an ordinary way as if a sister (rather than a wife). If, however, there should not be another girl available then the goods received as bride-price went back and the child, too, returned to her home.

MARRIAGE BY PERSONAL CHOICE¹¹

Marriage by personal choice is this. When the elder people see that a small boy has come of age and is a marriageable youth, one of the old men says, " This boy is of age now, he should look for a maiden that we may settle him." Then the others say, " That's right ; you have

¹¹ lit. getting there oneself.

para kukhumba mwanakazi kapenjenge mwali wa pa mphara, kayowoye nayo. Para wazomera, wizekatiphalira." Ndipo nadi para waruta ku wamwali.

Napo wayamufikira pa mubali wakhe uyo alikutengwa ku kaya izo,

" Ukuti wuli mwali yula, kasi milimo wali nayo ? "

Mubali wakhe akuti, " Apa nju ? "

Pungwe akuti, " E, yula akupula para."

Mbali wakhe akuti, " Kunene yura walikurwara uskaro na mphande pa singo yura ? "

Pungwe akuti, " Eya, mweneyuyura."

Mbali wake akuti, " Reka waka ; usange watola yura hatora wanyoko cha ? kuphika, kulima, kuwiwa ; milimo yose, mwali wali kuphinda yura 'mwe ! "

Skono wali, " Kwali ! " Skono akufumbaso akuti, " Panji wantu walikwizapo ? "

Mubali wakhe akuti, " Cha ; wizengepo nga tilikupulika."

Ndipo pungwe, " Panji ali na vikhole vya wanji."

Mubali wakhe akuti, " Chara pera ; nga tilikupulika."

Ndipo para skono wali, " Mundifumbire mwalamuchema."

Mubali wakhe wali,

" Leka nanga, tindimucheme wafumepo nanga wasungwana wanyake chifukwa mbawereweza viwi."

Ndipo para skono, para wali pa yekha ndiko kumuchema ndiko kuyowoya nayo, wali, " Iwe ! wanthu wakukukhumba wandituma."

Ndipo nayo mwali wali, " Ndiri na vya wene ; " akuteta mwakuti wangatenge ndazomera ruwiro chifukwa lukaŵa luso lwaŵo.

Para akumukoserezga chomene ndipo mwali atatenge, " Skono wali-nkhu ? "

spoken the truth," and then, " You, so-and-so, you are of age now ; be careful with people's wives ; if you want a woman go and search an unmarried girl and speak to her. When she agrees, come and tell us." And then, in truth, he goes off to the maidens.

In this matter he goes to a relative who has been taken in marriage at that village (i.e. where he intends to make enquiries),

" What do you say about that girl, is she a worker ? "

The relative, " Which one, where ? "

The young man, " That one pounding there."

" Do you mean that one yonder wearing beads and the *mphande* shell on her neck ? "

" Yes, that's the one "

" Enough said ! if you take that one have you not taken your mother? cooking, hoeing, weeding, every kind of work ; that girl is absolutely all right."

Then the (young man) says, " Is that so ? " and then he asks another question,

" Perhaps people have been there already."

" No ; if they had we would have heard."

" Perhaps she has somebody's token of engagement."

" No, no ; we would have heard."

And then he says,

" You might call her and ask for me."

" Wait a bit, I will call her when the other girls have first gone away, because they are a gossiping lot."

And so, when she is alone she calls her and speaks with her, saying,

" Here you ! people are after you ; they have sent me."

And the girl says,

" I've got somebody's engagement token ; " she is lying so that it may not be thought that she has agreed quickly ; because that was their way.

When (the relative) keeps on at her, she says,

" Where are the people ? "

Mubali wa pungwe wali,

“*Wakwiza ; wizamukuwawona mu nyumba yako ;*” *chifukwa apa wamusapuzganga, pungwe panguwavya nanga watenge amusapuzge nanga.*

Ndipo para mwali yura ngakuruta, pungwe nayo sotopo ngawakukhalirapo, wali,

“*Wuli ? mwamusapuzga ?*”

Para mubali wakhe wali, “ Inya.”

Skono “ Wati wuli ? ”

“*Ndati wakwiza kwenekuko, wati waka chete ; imwe mwatenge wazomere papano-pano ?*”

Ndipo skono kwafipa, tiwalutenge pungwe ku nyumba ya mwali ; khu-khu ku lwiji ; “ Ndimwe wanjani ? ” “ Ndise.” Wakupwepwerezga wose na mwali wuwo na wapungwe wuwo ; ndipera,” wana nkhu ” ngakunjila. Para wamwali ngawakuwasenderera pa chitala wapungwe ngawakukhala pa chitara ; mu nyumba mukuchita ntaula muli fu . . , umo wanyina wakuwikamo malughanji gha mawufu ghali waka jedu-jedu ; na tuphere nato wakuwika mumo twakuti mwiza wapungwe wamwenge wamanyenge kuti, “ mwana wane kuti ndi mwanakazi nadi.”

Ndipo para sono nga wawkwamba kuyowoya nayo mwali, wali,

“*Nda munthu ndine ; tambala nchiyuni ; nkuti ndichite chakuzgula chakutema chikusunda ; para mwanditemwa mutaye kumntowa nditorwele mwemwe ; para mwandipata munditaye ku chizara ndizalile wanjani.”*

Skono wamwali wakubongoya, wali,

“*Iki ! chara ; tilikupoka vya wene.”*

Para wapungwe wakukoserezga chomene namberenambere kukola duka chifukwa wamwali wakabongoyanga chomene, akuwa ngati akukana kweni cha, tiwazomerege, leka wapungwe wakakoserezganga chomene asuke azomere.

And the boy's relative says,

" They are coming ; you will see them in your hut ; " because while she has been finding out everything the youth was not there, waiting that she might first of all make enquiry.

So then the girl yonder goes off and the youth appears and sits down saying,

" What about it ? have you made enquiry ?

Then his relative says, " Yes."

" What did you say ? "

" I said, ' they are coming there ; ' she was silent ; did you think that she would give her consent here on the spot ? "

So when darkness comes the youth will go to the girl's house, knock on the door ; " Who are you ? " " It is we : " both boy and girl whisper. Then, " Are there children about ? " and in he goes. When the girls¹² make room on the bedstead the youths sit down there ; in the hut they do thus, it is lavishly stocked since the girl's mother puts in big pots of flour well decorated and some beer also so that when the youths come they may drink and realise that her child is a proper female.

And so he begins to speak to the girl like this :—

" I, this man here, am more than a cock which is a bird ; I have it in my mind to pluck up and to cut away that which will sprout again ; if you love me put me in the path that I may be attractive to you ; if you reject me throw me on the ash heap that I may be of abundant use to others."

Then the girl makes a great fuss and says,

" Oh my ! No, no ! I have accepted things from someone else."

Then the youth urges strongly and later on becomes disappointed because girls were accustomed to make a great fuss as if they were refusing, but not a bit of it ! the boy would go on urging until they agreed.

¹² The meeting takes place, of course, in the hut common to the girls of marriageable age or approaching thereto ; hence the plural use here. The youth would also always bring a friend.

Nadi para skono para wayowoya chomene akuzomera akupoka vikhole kwa pungwe ; skono kuwenge namachero namulenjilenji kundache chomene nga wakufuma.

Akuchita nthaula, mwali waphika sima yakuyakawaperekeza nayo wapungwe—ndiyo mwali wakulangwa uyo—akuti wakayiwoone sima yakhe umu akuphikira mwali.

Warara wa ku kaya wamanye kuti wapungwe wakugona ku wamwali ndipo para skono waphara kuti, " Ndayowoya nayo mwali, wazomera ; mwana wa uyu-uyu ; " skono ndipo warara tiwatumenge thenga kuti, " Utiyile para pa kwa uyu-uyu, tisooverenge ; mwana withu wakukhumbapo maji moto " Para ngalikuruta lyayakafika, nalo likuyowoya mazgu ghene-ghagho. Para wawiske wa mwanakazi wali, " Apa mwana wawo wa pa nyumbachi ? " thenga, " Wa pa nyumba ya Nyauyo-vichi." Para wali, " Okwe ! kwali ; lekani wasunganenge," para wali, " lutanga tazomera."

Ndipo para skono wayakafika wali, " Wazomera." Para " Eya ; lutanga, wize namachero na mise." Nadi para ngawakwiza na mise, ngawakutora mayembe ghatatu panji ghawiri na tonje na chirundu, jembe linyakhe wawikako mboni ya wuskalo utuwa mwakuti mitima yikabutenge wawiske wa mwana na wanyina wa mwana. Para thenga ngawakuruta wayakafika kula para nawo ngawakurungana wose pa lwaŵo, chifukwa ukawanga muzilo kupokerera yekha na mwali wakhe pera chuma cha pa mwana.

WAKAZIWAKURU KUPWELERERA NTHUMBO

Kale para mwali wawa na nthumbo ya wumwali ya kutalitali yambura kuwoneka chomene, wakaziwakuru wayimanya kale. Nga wakwiza kwa mwali uyo, wali " Skono ungalyanga vyakulya vipyo ; ulyenge vizizimo pera, ulekenge vipolenge nanga ndipo ulyenge." Wakopanga mwakuti para walya vipyo, nthumbo yingafuma.

Ndipo para nthumbo yafuma wapwereranga chomene ; na kuphalira warume wakuru pa kaya nanga yiwe ya uyu wakubaba na kale. Skono

And truly when they had talked a great deal, she agrees and receives a token of engagement from the boy; now it would be nearly dawn and they would come out of the hut.

Doing thus, the girl cooked porridge to speed the departure of the boys—that is to say, a girl of good breeding and training—so that they might see the way the girl cooked.

The older people of the (boy's) village would know that he was sleeping at the girl's place, and so when he said, "I have spoken to a girl and she has agreed; the child of So-and-so," the elders will send a messenger, saying, "Go for us to So-and-so's village; let us mix in friendship;¹³ our child wants hot water."¹⁴ Off goes the messenger and arrives and says these things. Then the father of the girl says, "Which house does the boy come from?" and the messenger, "The house of the woman of such-and-such a clan." Then they say, "Oh; is that so?" enough said, they will look after one another," then they say, "Off you go; we agree."

And then when he gets back he says, "They consent." Then, "Right; go home and return to-morrow evening." Truly when he comes in the evening, they take three hoes, or two, and cotton and a length of cloth, another hoe they add on and a bunch of white beads that the hearts of the girl's father and mother may be cheered. Then the messenger goes off and arrives there and they also gather together the whole of the family connection because it used to be tabu to receive a child's bride price oneself and one's wife alone.

(The further ceremonies as in "Marriage by arrangement of parents.")

THE ELDER WOMEN'S CARE FOR THE COMING CHILD

Long ago when a young woman was with her first child in its earliest stages the elder women knew all about it before it was obvious. They came to the young woman¹⁵ and said "Do not eat now any hot food; you must only eat cold things, let them cool first and then you may eat." They were afraid lest when she ate any hot things the child might miscarry.

And in a case where the child did miscarry they were exceedingly concerned, and told the senior men of the group even though it might be

¹³ *kusovera*, can be translated, and in these pages is translated, in a variety of ways, all connected with "mutual enjoyment."

¹⁴ *maji moto*; a jesting equivalent for a happy marriage and well-cooked food.

¹⁵ *mwali*; a maiden. Used here for a young mother.

warumewakuru wakufumba.” *Yafuma wuliwuli? yafuma yekha; yekha nkanira? wakaziwakuru wali,* “*Inya.*” “*Okwe! ndiko kanthu wuli aka? ndicho Leza wanena; murandu wamara.*”

Ndipo manyi wapulike kuti wangumwa munkwala, murandu ukuru chomene ukawangapo na uyo wamupanga munkwara, nayo wasokwa. Wakatenge ndi muhawi wakukoma mbumba, tiwamumweskenge mwavi panji tiwakomenge; wakatenge ndi mulwani.

Kweni usange ndi nthumbo ya wumwali yikule makora, wamwimbese uzamba wakubopezga mukhuzi, chifukwa wendanga pakweru wambura kubopapo saru. Kweni wamubopezge wakaziwakuru; wakuchita ntaula waphika mapere ghakubopesezga mukhuzi.

CHIŴULILA

Chuwulila ndichi; para mwana wanguwa na mwana ndipo walive kusaula wapokerera nthumbo yambula kusaula, ndicho chiwulila.

Wakaziwakuru kuti wakizangamo mu nyumba umu wakubabiwira wa chiwulila chara; wakukana nga mwakuti, “*Tingatora nthenda.*” *Ntaula wakopanga chomene kale, kuti mphasa wakatandikanga bweka chara, kweni wakalindiriranga mwana wende, ndiposo mwanakazi watorwe.*

Skono ndiyo nyumba iyo wanthu wose wamanye kuti mwanakazi watorwa lero, ndiyo nanga wapoke nthumbo ndiyo njakusekera nayo wanthu wose. Skono para wakufumba wanyakhe para waya kutali ku wabali wakhe, “*Wanyauyuuyu wakusowera?*” “*Inya;*” “*Wali wuli lero?*” “*Cha; wakumila mata kwali.*” *Ndigho ghaweme.*

KUBAZA MU VITHUTU

Kale kusanga wasungwanana wasepuka wakabazanga mu vithutu. Pakudanga wasungwana wadangile kuyakazenga nyumba zga matope pawaro pa muzi pa mphepete; wasepuka wadange wapinda mauta ghakulasila mphazi na

a case of a woman who had already borne children. Now the elder men ask, "How did it come ? entirely by itself ?" The old women, "Yes ;" "Alas ! what sort of thing is this ? it is a thing God has spoken ; there is no law-suit."

And possibly they might hear that the woman had taken a drug, then there was a very heavy case against the one who administered the drug, he was in for trouble. They considered him a person endangering the existence of the family and they would make him take the poison ordeal or kill him ; they counted him as an enemy.

But where the coming child of a young woman grew as it should, then they danced the *uzamba* for the mother again and put on the strengthening cloth because she had been moving about openly without putting on the cloth belt. But the elder women put on the belt ; in doing so they cook the beer for the ceremony of putting on the belt or binder.

THE UNSPEAKABLE THING¹⁶

The unspeakable thing is this ; when a child has a child without having attained full maturity, that is the thing that should not be.

The elder women (i.e. the midwives) did not enter the hut where a child is being born who is a child "that should not be ;" they said "We can contract disease." So they were much afraid long ago, they did not even lie down to sleep care free but went on waiting for the child to move about and for the woman to be all right again.

And that is the house which all the people would know of that the woman is now all right and should she become pregnant it is a matter for rejoicing with all. Now when some who have gone to a distance ask the friends of the woman, "Is that woman of such-and-such a family having a good time ?" "Yes ;" "How is she now ?" "Oh, we understand she is swallowing saliva."¹⁷ That means that all is well.

"PLAYING AT BEING MARRIED" IN LITTLE TEMPORARY HUTS

In the old days the girls and boys played at "keeping house" in little temporary huts. First of all the girls went ahead to shape the huts in mud outside the village to the side ; the boys began by stringing their

¹⁶ or, that that should not be.

¹⁷ As fear dries up the mouth so the return to normal is expressed by the natural flow of saliva.

tuyuni. Skono pakuzwera kura ndipo wëndamukwenda pa wasungwana, wasungwana wakwamba kuwasora, " Ine mufumu wane ndi uyu ; " uyo nayo luso ndilolulo.

Skono ndipo wakwamba kutema mapekese ghakuzengela nyumba zga wasenje, wanakazi wakwipha mauteka ghakweghera nyumba. Skono para wazenga nyumba zgamara, wasungwana wakuruta ku wanyinaŵo kuyakatora wufu na mphangwe na skawa mwakuti wabazilenge mu vithutu.

Skono para wasungwana wakuphika dende wasepuka wakuruta ku kuwamba mphazi na tuyuni. Para wayakakoma mphazi na tuyuni wakwiza nazo ku wawoli wawo ; wawoli wawo wakupokerera makora ghene wakunji-zga mu nyumba. Wakuchita ntaula, wanalume wapazga mphala yakusowerapo ; para wanakazi waphika sima zizenge penepapo ndipo walyelenge. Skono para walya sima, wasungwana wali, " Kwafipa skono, tigonenge imwe."

Skono para warara wakupatukana wakunjira mu nyumba za wawoli wawo, chifukwa wakawangapo wa mu mphara wakatenge wasepuka ndiwo wakaperekanga vibo kukati. Ndipo para wizako mulumemukuru panji mkazimukuru, dango ndyakuti, " Mwa wana ; muchenjere na moto ; mupe-mbenge makola moto." Ndilo likawo dango lyaŵo ilo, mwakuti wanga-pyela mu vithutu ; panji wangapyelamo mwana wa wene yunji wa patali wakopanga milandu. Para ndi musepuka nkutenge, " Wana wina wasungwana ha ndiŵo wasonganga mwana wane, leka wapyela mu vithutu." Yekha mwanalume nayo akuzenga vithutu, wareke kupinda mauta, vithutu vyachi msepuka ? mulando mbavi apo ntaula, vitunthulu vikwenda kusanga ; leka wakakanizganga moto mu vithutu ndilo dango lya warara lyenelira ndipera. Mulando wa mu vithutu kukawavya, wakuti, " Wasungwana na wasepuka wasoweranga mu vithutu tiyowoyenge mulando cha ; " kukawavya kusanga.

bows for shooting grasshoppers and small birds. On coming from there they come past where the girls are, and the girls begin to choose, "This one is my husband ;" each of the others in the same manner.

And then they begin to cut the dry maize stalks for building the house and the girls cut grass for roofing. When the houses are built and finished, the girls go to their mothers to bring flour and relish and ground nuts so that they may "keep house" in the little huts.

Now while the girls are cooking the relish the boys go hunting the grasshoppers and small birds. When they have gone and killed grasshoppers and small birds they come with them to their wives ; their wives receive them in the proper way, and put them away in the house. Having done that, the boys clear a "talking place" to enjoy themselves at ; when the girls have the porridge cooked, it comes and they eat it there. Now when they have eaten the porridge the girls say, "It is dark now ; we are going to lie down."

Now when the older men have moved off they go into their wives' houses because there were some at the "talking place" who said that the boys were the ones to take the baskets back into the village.¹⁸ And now there comes an old man or it may be an old woman (to announce the) law stating, "You children, be most careful of fire ; blow up the fire with care." That was their law lest they should be burned in the little temporary huts ; possibly a child of another family from a distance might get burned, and there was fear of a case for damages. In the case of a boy it might be said, "Your daughters, was it not they who seduced my child, and look how he got burned in the little huts."¹⁹ Does a man build the little huts by himself, without his going off with the bow what is there in the little huts, my boy ?²⁰ There's a case there that will cost an axe ; payments for damages were passing to and fro in the old days ; for that reason they were refusing fire in the little temporary huts, that was the law of the old people simply. There was no making of lawsuits in the little huts ; people said, "The girls and boys were enjoying themselves in the little huts ; we will not talk of law suits." They did not happen in the old days.

¹⁸ A difficult phrase : probably some of the boys assumed the manner of seniors, and selected younger boys to take back the food baskets to the villages.

¹⁹ The word translated "seduced" may be, perhaps, "importuned," "beguiled," or "tempted" ; it always involved the idea inherent in our verb "to solicit."

²⁰ A difficult phrase ; probably used to indicate that the prohibition against being "careless with fire" was understood to involve warning in another direction also ; i.e. equivalent to, "remember that it is not only one sex at play in the little huts."

Chifukwa wanthu wa kale kuti mitima yawo yikawa nga ndise cha ; waka wa wanthu waweme chomene ndiwo wachiwonenge chisopo ichi nga chikuwayana nadi.

KONEKEZGA PANJI KULIMIZGA

Kale kusanga wakalimanga munda yikulu chomene ya ngoma na ya wulumano, ndiyo wakonekezgana iyo ; wanakazi nawo wakatenge waka binyu na vilungu, usange mwanakazi alive kumanya kucundika chirungu nayo ndi mwanakazeso uyo ? Pauli ! Kwene kanakazi kene para kawona mwakuti chifuku chiza kalegherezga vilungu vyakulimizga munda wakhe. Ndipo uyo wakwima munda ya wulera nayo waleghere waka mwakuti para vura yiza munda ya mwenecho yitenakumara, chifukwa yikawangapo munda mwanalume pera vya pa mutima wakhe, mwakuti para wizapo mulendo uyo wafuma kutali wiza na muwoli wakhe panji mbumba yakhe yose ndimo tiwamubazilenge vyaulera.

Ndipo para skono para phere lyapya wakachema wanthu wanandi chomene na wa mu mizi yinyakhe mwakuti wizekamara luwiro phere ; nalo linandi chomene usange wakuchema wa ku mizi yinji. Wakuchita ntaula, mbuzi wakomelapo yakulyera zisima, wanakazi nawo wali papo wanandi chomene. Skono wakuchita ntaula, mayembe ghati waka sku . . ! napo muka wanga mu munda ya ngalula ya wutheka wa sungumbuwa wali muyeka-muyeka.

Skono wathowerenkanya apa mwanakazi apa mwanarume ; mayembe pamoza, ghali, " wa, wa, wa, eye ! wa, wa, wa, eya ! " Kamphundu kali nga-nga ; wawoli wakhe wali, " Tang'azila munda ! kanalume nkhumandi ! " Skono wakuchita ntaula wavina mumbele umu chembe lyakhonda pera, skono wawuka na warara umu wangukhala pasi wamwanga phele ukhala ; skono nawo wizamulima kukhuzizga wasaza na wasungwana. Apera, wene na nchembere wuwo wakatenge, " wasungwana ! " wawoli nawo pakuchemema wakatenge, " Wasungwana ! " pakuthika " u- ; " skono para wakora mayembe warara muyeka ndiko ukhonde chomene. Skono wakululuta la hamphundu napa-napa ; wakuchita ntaula wakhuta waleka, wasa-nguluka waneneska.

Because the people of old had hearts not as ours ; they were most excellent people, and if they had seen this religion (of to-day) it would certainly have suited them.

COMMUNITY WORK OR " MAKING A HOEING "

In the old days of long ago they were hoeing very large food gardens of maize and of millet, and these were what they did community work in : the women, too, work hard preparing yeast, if a woman did not know how to prepare the yeast, is she what you call a woman ? But a proper little woman, whenever she saw that the cold season has come, finishes preparing the yeast to " make a hoeing." And where anyone maintains a " Garden of Hospitality," he also makes ready so that when the rain comes his own gardens may make sure of being finished because there used to be gardens as a man determined in his own heart, so that when a traveller coming from far arrived, possibly with wife and family together, he would house him by the " food of Hospitality."

And so then when the beer was brewed he called very many people and those from other villages so that they might finish the beer quickly : it also was in great quantity if he called people from other villages. Having done thus, a goat was killed to eat with the porridge, and a large number of women also were there. Thereupon the hoes were many ! thus it was at the time of first hoeing in the gardens among the wild mustard, all hoeing together in unison.

They arranged properly throughout, woman and man alternately : all the hoes together, saying, " *wa, wa, wa, eye ! wa, wa, wa, eya !* " The shrill " *lu-lu-lu* " loud and strong ; the man's wives shouting, " Encourage the garden ;²¹ male strength is abundant ! " Thus doing he goes dancing out in front as the hoe²² dominates all, and now the old men get up from where they have been sitting drinking the beer ; they too hoe to urge on the boys and girls. And so both they and the married women their wives make to call the girls, saying, " Girls ! " and the answer comes, " *u-* ; " now when the old ones take the hoes in unison there is everything as it should be.²² So the " *lu-lu-lu-* " goes up on every side ; so doing they go at it till they have had enough and stop, thoroughly happy.

²¹ *Kutang'azila* is the dancing, swaying step of the owner of the garden who encourages his guests in this way.

²² *Chembe lyakhonda* : *chembe* here for *jembe*, a hoe : a form very rarely heard. *Kukhonda* : an exceedingly difficult word to find the English equivalent ; applied where something is " generally accepted," or " in full force,"

KUTUNDULANA UFWITI

Kutundulana ufwati kukizanga na kupatikana ; kutinkana nako, kutinkana kukambilanga mu wukunusi wunonono pa chuma. Para pakudanga munyakhe akawanga na chuma akamupwereranga akamutengezanga akamuvwalikanga ; chuma cha pa mwana wakagawananga makora ghene. Skono akawone mwakuti munyakhe wakavuke uyo iyo wamupweleleranga, skono iyo para warwa nacho chuma wamuluwa munyakhe wapatukako ku thupi lya munyakhe wabampikana na wawiskevyala uko watola mwana-kazi, skono wakuti, " Wangandilawiskanga ku maso, ndipatuke ndiwe kamphanda pa ndekha." Para munyakhe akuti, " Ewe ! skono wamunyane wandilulwa." Ndipo akuti, " Nditiuli ? " ndipo munyakhe akuti, " Ndamunyako ndakavuka, kasi kuti kumanya chara ? " ndipo akuti, " Manye ; wamwene ; ine ndine ndili nacho chuma ? " akuteta umu warwa mukunusi.

Ndipo munyakhe akuti, " Kwali lero mwawona apa mwasambazga, mwapatuka ku thupi lyane, mwawa pa mwekha ; " ndipo iyo akuti, " Mwandiwiki moyo mukuti mundikome waka ine ; " skono munyakhe akufumba akuti, " Ndikukome na vichi ? " ndipo iyo akuti, " Manyi, mwawene."

Skono munyakhe akuti, " Ani ukuti ndili fwati ? " ndipo iyo akuti, " Manyi, kasi nchisi ? " munyakhe chete.

Skono zuwa linji panji mwana wake wafwe, wali, " Mbenevawara ; " kono wamba kutundula, wali, " Mbenevawara wakandivika moyo pa chuma." Skono wanthu wali, " Uyu ndi fwati, munyawo watundula : " ndimo wakamweranga mwavi kale. Munthu wa waka kuti akatundulanga viwi cha, chifukwa wakatenge, " Tikulyerana chuma na iwe, wandiwukila pachi ? " Ndicho wakopanga kumutundula wa waka.

Wuhawi wakatundulilananga pa wukaka wa chuma para yunji warwa mukaka akwima wanyakhe usange iyo pakudanga munyakhe wagawananga nayo ; skono warwona umu nayo warwa nacho wagaluka, ndimo wakutundulila munyakhe ufwati. Skono munyakhe wamwa mwavi ndipera wapatukana, kuti tiwawengeso pamoza chara ; nanga wanguwa nyina wo yumo wapambana ndipera. Skono wana wa mukati nawo wawazgewa, ndiwo awo fuku lyawo

ACCUSATION OF DEATH DEALING

Raising accusations of death dealing came with inability to get on together ; mutual hatred began with stingy selfishness over goods. At first, when one possessed goods there was consideration for others, marriages were contributed to, clothing was provided : the goods got by a marriage were divided up carefully. Now if one is seen in poverty who was previously looked after, and wealth has come, he (i.e. the rich one) forgets his relative and moves away from him, joining up with his father-in-law's group whence he took his wife ; he says, " They must not have me before their eyes ; let me go off and be of importance on my own." When his relative says, " Oh, you have forgotten me, brother," he remarks, " What did I say ? " and the relative says, " I your relation am in poverty, do you not know ? " and the (other) says, " Is that so ? It's your look out ; am I a person of wealth ? " He lies, having become rich.

Then his friend says, " Perhaps now that you are rich you have separated yourself from my affairs and are off on your own," and the other says, " You have set your heart against me ; will you kill me without cause ? " and the relative says, " What will I kill you with ? " and the other says, " Can I know ?—it is your affair."

Now says the relative, " Do you say that I intend to kill ? " Says the other, " Can I know ? Is it dark ? " (i.e. " Do you think your mind is hidden from me ? ") The relative remains silent.

Now on another day perhaps his (i.e. the rich man's) child dies : he says, " It is of those people : " then begins the accusing ; he says, " It was those ones who put their heart against me at my wealth." And people say, " He is intending to kill ; his relative has accused him ; " and so they made him drink the ordeal in the old days. A common man they did not accuse because they said, " We benefit from riches along with you ; why should you rise up against us ? " For that reason they were afraid to accuse a man of no standing.²³

They brought accusations of witchcraft against hoarders of wealth when one became niggardly with whom previously his group had shared things ; now seeing how he was become in the matter of wealth they rose against him and accused the clansman of evil intent. Now if he took the ordeal nothing remained but separation ; they would never be together again : although they might have been sons of one mother they would

²³ A serf or man of no position, being wholly dependent upon his owners in the group could never entertain death dealing intentions, consequently such a man was never accused.

likuŵa lyambula kumanyikwa ; limanyikwe wuli lwegha ŵapatuka pa ŵanyaŵo chifukwa cha wukunusi ? Skono ŵanthu para ŵakufumba, “ Kasi aŵa apa chiwongo mbakuti ene, kasi ŵara mbanyaŵo ? ” ŵanji ŵali, “ Manyi, kuti tikumanya makora cha.”

Wukunusi wukusovya ŵanthu kuti mbuweme chara ; skono ŵana ŵayakakulira kuchikazi, kumanyana na ŵanyaŵo cha.

now be entirely estranged. And the children involved are also lost to them (i.e. the clan group) ; it is they who become a family without recognition : how could it be recognised in view of the fact that they separated from their clan on account of selfishness ? Now when people ask, " Are those people of such-and-such a clan-name relatives of those yonder ? " others reply, " Can we know ?—we do not know clearly."

Selfishness that makes people lose themselves is not good ; now the children go and grow up among their mother's group and do not know their own group.

BOOK REVIEWS

U-Shembe, By John L. Dube, Shooter & Shuter, Maritzburg, 1936
pp. 117 illustrated. 3/-

A most welcome addition to Zulu literature is this from the pen of a well-known writer. The story of Shembe is that of an earnest man who gained a great following among the Zulus owing to the picturesque, non-European setting for his religious observances. Shembe had composed a number of Psalms for use by his people, some of these are illustrated in Dube's book, and though most are simple in style appealing to the people he led, others shew real dramatic talent. Dube tells the story well, with a masterly flow of language—he is one of the finest exponents of Zulu.

Unfortunately Dube has gone out of his way to use a strange orthography for Zulu—all his own. This at a time when decision upon recognized orthography has been taken, and after Dube has himself published a book in the new Zulu orthography—*Ukuziphatha kahle*—is inexplicable. While on the whole he has used conjunctive writing, he has banned the marking of aspiration except after clicks, done away with implosive *b*, but introduced accents after *b* and even after *g*; while he evidently uses the same accents to mark ejection! This type of thing is most unfortunate. The book contains most valuable information, but the author's action in devising his own pet orthography will prevent its being used in the Native schools in Natal. We hope an edition in authorised orthography will be available before too long.

C.M.D.

Ten Africans, edited by Margery Perham, Faber & Faber, Ltd.,
London, 1936, pp. 356, illustrated, price 15/- net.

This is a collection in English of ten African life stories, some of them collected from Natives by European workers in Africa and rendered into English, and others written in English by Africans themselves. Miss Perham has done a real service in presenting these accounts which give an insight into African life and African views of life not suspected by the ordinary reader of books about Africa. In her introduction, the Editor states "These Africans have not been carefully selected to represent any special virtues or qualities. Still less—and here I can only offer my word—have their stories been tampered with. . . . These

Africans, like any other ten persons, vary in character and also reveal contradictions in themselves. They were chosen at random." The Editor has arranged the stories, as far as possible, in an ascending scale according to degrees of European influence, an arrangement which is very useful to the reader in gauging the effects of that influence. She states that "this book is not offered as a contribution to anthropology or history," nevertheless there is much of both in the book of extreme value.

The first story is that of Bwembya of the Bemba tribe of Northern Rhodesia, recorded by the anthropologist, Dr. Audrey Richards. It is the story of an old man connected with the chiefs of the land, and tells of happenings at the chief's court, particularly striking being the description of the burning of a number of youths and girls consequent on a charge of adultery against one of the chief's wives, and an account of a raid on an island in the swamps of Bangweolu.

After this comes the story a "chief by Government warrant" in the Calabar Province of Nigeria, recorded by the Rev. W. Groves. This story is full of Native custom, palavers and customs on marriage being well described. Here, too, is recorded much fighting and then the occupation of the land by the British and the institution of their rule. The recorder ends with an illuminating summary of his impressions of Europeans. He says "The White men are great in their fashion of doing things. They like to do everything in order. . . . they love their wives more than anything they have in life." The way the European is mirrored in Native thought will well repay our consideration.

Kumalo of Matabeleland, who acted Lobengula in the Rhodes Film, records his life through Mr. J. W. Posselt. This, too, is an interesting record. "As to my own life," he says, "I have had twelve wives altogether, five died and seven are alive. I have twenty-six children alive, five have died." His experiences with the film producing are interesting.

There is a great deal of historical matter in the story of Rashid Bin Hassani the Bisa, who, after capture by the Ngoni raiders, became a slave of Bibi Zem-Zem, sister of the Sultan in Zanzibar. His experiences, carrying him on long journeys to Uganda, were marvellous and reflect the unsettled state of East Africa at the time of the European occupation.

Miss Monica Hunter records the life story of a Xhosa woman, Nosente; in which much matter of anthropological value is included, mainly concerning initiation and marriage rites.

The next story is that of a Yao from Nyasaland and is concerned to a great extent with the economics of the Native who is banded from pillar to post searching for work.

The seventh is the life of an African teacher of the Kikuyu tribe, written by himself. He was one of the delegates on closer union sent to England from East Africa in 1931, and gives an interesting description of the visit.

The next story is that of Martin Kayamba Mdumi, M.B.E. a Bondei, who contributes a most interesting chapter of 100 pages in two parts. This is well worth close study. The first part deals with his life in East Africa mainly Tanganyika and gives vivid descriptions of hardships suffered during the Great War in that territory. The second part, which has also been published as a book in Swahili, is a really wonderful account of his experiences in England as a delegate to the conference on Closer Union of the East African territories. This portion is well worth a close study.

The ninth story is of a different type altogether. It is the account by a communist in South Africa, Gilbert Coka, of his association with the ill-fated I.C.U. Movement. The writing is very humorous and reveals the self-esteem, found in many attracted by this type of movement. After a short experience as a teacher "I had every reason to be proud of my achievements," he writes, "On a small scale I had paralleled Booker Washington. . . . as a teacher I had been superb." This story seems necessary as a "counter-irritant" after the previous one in which European or rather British "fair-play" had received the highest commendation.

The last story has a pathetic touch. It is that of Kofoworola Moore, a Yoruba girl who had lived in England from the age of ten to that of twenty-one, and has to face up to a new life on going back to her home land.

We predict for this book a wide reception: it deserves it.

C.M.D.

The Mammals of South West Africa : by Captain G. C. Shortridge,
London, (William Heinemann, Ltd.)

It is not often that a book on Zoology offers matter of interest to philologists, but *The Mammals of Africa* definitely does so. To descriptions of the many animals found there Captain Shortridge has added lists of Native names supplied to him by members of a number

of different tribes, whom he had with him. To these he has added from literature the names of these animals attributed to those and other tribes by different writers. The names collected by the author himself have most value, as in every case the animal named was lying before him and his informants, he tells us, thereby avoided the chance of an interpreter confusing two animals, which is very likely to occur otherwise.

The languages dealt with are those of some thirteen, or more, Bantu tribes resident in the north of S. W. Africa, in Bechuanaland and S. Rhodesia near the Caprivi strip; a couple of Hottentot dialects and several Bushman languages. A study of these lists makes it clear, that there is more variety in the Bushman nomenclature, than in Hottentot or Bantu. The Hottentot dialects show slight variations of one root. In the Bantu languages we find for the smaller, less known animals a good deal of variety of names, but for larger, better known animals two or three groups of names among the tribes mentioned. It is possible, that these groups of words may be traced back to a single root, but if that is so, that root lies far back, and has developed into quite different forms. Only for two animals, the elephant and the porcupine, are the names all variations of one root. In the case of the elephant the striking coincidence occurs, that all the names in Bushman and Hottentot languages are also derived from one root. The Bantu names for the hippo are with one exception derived from one root. Only the Ovambo call this animal by a term reminiscent of their name for wart hog. Possibly some Ovambo chief rejoiced in the title of "the elephant," whereby the word became taboo for his tribe. Speculation is also aroused by the fact that the Tswana name for hartebeest *khama*, is evidently derived from the name given to this animal by Nama and Naron, *//kamab*, *//kamaba*. Indeed many problems arise from the study of these lists, which should receive the attention of all students of native South African languages.

It is a pity that the author occasionally confuses the name of a tribe with the name of its language, as Baila and Chila, for instance. Likewise the order in which the languages are arranged might be improved. But these are trifling faults and do not alter the fact that this book contains a valuable contribution to our knowledge of S. A. Languages.

D. F. BLEEK.

Les Peuplades du Congo Belge (Nom et Situation Géographique): by J. Maes and O. Boone (Musée du Congo Belge, Tervueren, Belgium; 380 pp. 1935)

This is the first volume of the second series of the "Bureau de Documentation Ethnographique," a series entitled "Monographies idéologiques." As this sub-title shews, this volume deals with names of all the various tribes of the Congo Belge, discusses the numerous variants of each tribal name, and gives the decision of the authors as to which name they prefer for classification purposes. Very full references to the naming of the tribes are given. With regard to the second subject of the book, the geographical position of each tribe, the authors have presented a most valuable series of maps showing concisely the area occupied by the tribe discussed and indicating its immediate neighbours. These maps are of extreme importance. Owing to the fact that some tribes occupy relatively large areas, the scale of the maps is not uniform, and this is a pity, as it is difficult to compare the relative extents. It is to be hoped that a collation of all these maps will be available in the form of one large ethnic (or linguistic) map of the Congo Belge.

The tribes covered are for the most part Bantu, but there are also numerous Sudanic groupings in the North. It is unfortunate that the authors have chosen for the Bantu tribes names including the prefix, e.g., Balamba, Baluba, Wanianga, Walega, etc. Today it is being generally recognised that the prefix should be dropped when dealing with Bantu names and the above should be called Lamba, Luba, Nianga, Lega, respectively. This is one of the decisions of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

The value of this publication would have been further enhanced if an estimate of the population of each tribal area were given. Perhaps the authors have this in view in a future publication. Something of the immensity of the work undertaken may be realised when the index of over 2,500 variant tribal name recordings is examined. The actual number of separate tribes taken out from these for classification is somewhat over 170.

"Les Peuplades du Congo Belge" is a reference publication of the highest value, and the authors are to be heartily congratulated on its preparation. C.M.D.

Vutlhari bya Vatlona: The Wisdom of the Tonga-Shangaan People:
By H. P. Junod and A. A. Jaques (pp. 285, 1936, Pretoria, 5/-).

Among the recommendations of the language sub-committee of the Inter-University Committee for African Studies, adopted in January, 1933, was one that for the development of Tonga, textual

material should be collected in folk-lore, proverb-lore, ethnology, history, etc. In the publication before us we have a welcome contribution on the proverb-lore of the Tonga-Shangaan people. This collection contains 892 proverbs and 200 riddles, to which are added a few Chopi riddles and a chapter on people's names. The main body of the book concerns the proverbs. These are given in the Tonga text with Tonga explanation; on the opposite page is the English translation of the proverb and its explanation.

The proverbs are classified according to subject. This has been easy in the case of proverbs dealing with such subjects as animals (the first 252). With other subjects it has not been so easy, but the authors have used as main headings: "Government, Chiefs, Servants," "War, Quarrels, Courage, Cowardice," "Journeys and Hospitality," "Court-cases," "Family and Village life," "Food," "Work," "Mouth and Tongue," "Wisdom and Boasting," "Reflexions of the People." There are certain sub-divisions within these main headings, but one cannot help feeling that an improvement would have been to place the proverbs alphabetically under each heading. There is always a difficulty in tracing the proverb unless this is done.

This collection contains many of the most typical Bantu proverbs, such as "the baboons laugh at each other's deep eye-sockets," a proverb found in one form or another in almost every Bantu language, and equivalent to the pot calling the kettle black. Many others seem to be the common property of humanity such as the reference to the "double-tongued," "killing two birds with one stick," or the inability of one finger to pick up anything. Nevertheless this book contains a great number of proverbs and riddles peculiar to Tonga-Shangaan thought.

The bi-lingual method of presenting this material makes the book valuable to the Native as well as to the European student, and the authors are to be congratulated on a valuable publication. *The Cleveland Mission Press* has done the printing well, though discrepancies between title-page and cover appear and lettering on the back of the cover would have enhanced the general appearance.

C.M.D.

A Shona Grammar: by J. O'Neil. Published by Longmans Green & Co., 5/-.

This grammar gives in convenient form a useful introduction to Unified Shona Grammar. While written primarily for the Zezuru

dialect, with which Father O'Neil is well acquainted, the use of the new common orthography, the notes by the late Rev. B. H. Barnes, C.R., on the Manyika, and by the Rev A. A. Louw, Jr. on the Karanga variants make the grammar useful for a student of any of these dialects. Though the dialects of Korekore and Ndau vary somewhat from Zezuru, this book will, nevertheless, be useful to those who wish to begin the study of those dialects or to systematise a knowledge of those dialects as spoken; for it deals, in the main, with the broad foundations of Shona grammar which are largely common to the various dialects. The book is intended for the use of English students of Shona and the translation exercises are well graded, and deal with subject material likely to be needed by such students. The key to the exercises will prove of great value to private students; and there are very full sets of examples throughout the book.

As well, however, we may hope that the book will be used in the upper classes of schools for Shona scholars, as a help to such scholars in gaining a knowledge of the structure of their own language, and, if they have need of it, as an introduction to the study of formal English.

The chapter on orthography and pronunciation (phonetics) was written by the late Father Barnes, and is, so far as the present writer knows, his last written contribution to the cause of Shona unification and development. It is fitting that this should be so from so great a co-operator in the cause of the uplift through literacy of the Shona peoples.

Realising the difficulties in the unification even of orthography, in some of the other Bantu languages, one realises how valuable it is that at an early stage towards literacy of the Bantu people, so much unanimity of the great missions should have been obtained, and this is due in no little measure to the efforts of the late Mrs. A. A. Louw and of Father Barnes, two pioneers in Shona studies. The recent death of Father Barnes deprives the Shona language of the deep knowledge and wide experience which he at all times made ungrudgingly available to any serious student.

Students who use the grammar for comparative purposes will regret some points in which the author diverges from the terminology suggested by Dr. Doke in his works on the language—notably the treatment of “participles,” “pronouns” and “prepositions.” As it is almost certain that students will be using the “Mashonaland Vocabulary” (Barnes) concurrently and will pass on to the “Comparative Study in Shona Phonetics” (Doke), it is to be regretted that at least some reference to

this difference in terminology is not made, and that a different enumeration of Noun Classes is used. There is much to be said for the separation of the KU-infinitive class from the KU-locative class, but this could have been obtained by numbering classes IX A and IX B.

The separation of *mp* as a separate prefix in Class I could have been avoided by a note on velarisation—and the same note might have appeared under Class II. A clearer treatment of Class I A would have been a help to comparative students.

This review is not the place for a discussion of the merits of the two different nomenclatures, but since so much effort is being expended to attain uniformity of treatment in languages recently reduced to writing and grammatical analysis, it is to be regretted that what we may hope will become a standard elementary grammar should vary so much from the only general word-book available, and from the detailed text book on Phonetics and structure.

E.B.J.

Imibengo: a Xhosa anthology of prose and verse: compiled by W. G. Bennie, B.A. (*The Lovedale Press*).

All readers of Xhosa and students of Bantu life and literature owe Mr. Bennie a debt of gratitude for the compilation of this very interesting anthology. Covering, as it does, the whole field of Xhosa literature within the compass of 276 pages, and offering selections from the best work in all branches of literature in which writers have tried their hand, *Imibengo* serves to show both the present range and quality of the literature of Xhosa, and also its very distinct limitations. History, biography, allegory, the essay, the novel, poetical praise-songs (*izibongo*) on the old tribal model, and modern poems on the models of European languages are all drawn upon for material; and extracts from the translations of the Pilgrim's Progress and of the Bible, the mother's milk of every Xhosa writer, are also included.

The task of selection has been carried out with that sound judgment which was to be expected from the Editor's unrivalled knowledge both of the language and of its literature; and the anthology, though, had it been less typical, it might well have been more interesting to the European reader, is unquestionably thoroughly representative of the work of Xhosa writers, and gives an accurate picture of the features of Xhosa literature.

The extension of education and the development of a printed literature amongst the Xhosa, as among other Bantu tribes, have been

mainly directed by Christian Missions. As a result the influence of religion upon Xhosa writers—almost all of whom have at one time or another been either teachers in Mission schools or ministers of religion—is very strongly marked. There is, generally speaking, a high seriousness of tone, a solemn dignity of treatment, and, in the selection of matter, a stern avoidance of the lighter side of life, noticeable in the work of almost every writer. Nineteenth century Christian Missions to South Africa had no doubt their share of those stern interpreters of Christianity who, in the words of Willoughby, “looked askance at this world, being persuaded that it is at best a place of discipline for the life to come, and were concerned only in preparing for another and a better;” and many of them did not hesitate to let loose upon the trembling Bantu those “whelps from the nightmare of hell and the devil that lay upon the chest of Christendom for a thousand years.” It is therefore not surprising that a certain gloomy preoccupation with death and the grave, and a strong moralising and didactic tone should be a feature of the literature of even so cheerful and laughter-loving a race as the Xhosas. Viewed from a European’s point of view, this feature of Xhosa, as of other Bantu literature, however inevitable it may have been, is regrettable; for in its content much that is written in Xhosa impresses him as being inordinately dull and prosy, affording maybe an encouragement to good morals, but too often also an illustration of exceedingly bad literary art.

In spite of these influences, such an author as Tiyo Soga, one of the earliest writers in the language, shows in his writings even on such topics as Debt, News, Christians and their Chiefs, Converts and their Heathen Brethren, a most refreshing vigour of style, a keen though kindly sense of humour and a lively imagination. The same gifts, the same breadth of view and the same power to break loose from narrowing influences are evidenced in the works of Mqhayi, the unquestioned leader of the Xhosa writers of today. The younger writers of to-morrow would do well to take to heart the lessons to be learnt from a study of the two authors named, and to appreciate the compelling necessity, in writing even for uncritical readers and on subjects of serious moment, for a leavening of humour, of liveliness of style and of that “cheerful delight in earthly things which they need think no shame to mingle with joy in the eternal.”

Many writers on Bantu life have pointed out that the group-consciousness of the Bantu is strong and his individual consciousness weak, and that he has no leanings towards abstract questions of personality. For this reason no doubt the few novels which have been

written in Xhosa, of one of which—*UNomalizo*—the anthology contains extracts, have not shown any great merit. The characters are generally personified abstractions, whose very names, like those of Bunyan's characters in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, are mere labels indicating a quality for which they stand. In tribal conditions Bantu virtue and vice are not so much questions of intimate personal character as of public adherence to or transgression of the laws and customs of the tribe; their sense of sin was juristic and not based upon an ideal of personal righteousness; so that an offence once expiated by punishment or ritual sacrifice was over and done with, and any sense of guilt thereafter in the inner conscience was mere folly. The development of individual character, the growth of the personality was therefore an idea foreign to the Bantu mind. It is significant that the best of the Xhosa novels yet written deal with Native life not in the tribal Reserves but in the urban areas, where the individual is a freer agent, and duty to and judgment by the community count for much less than they do under tribal conditions. Even in the novel the moralising tendency of the Xhosa writer is often pronounced; and few authors are able to resist the temptation to digress every now and then from the highway of the story into the pleasant but treacherous bypaths of personal discussion in sermon form of their characters and their doings.

The pattern of Native tribal life has also a powerful influence upon such branches of literature as history and biography. As in the Old Testament, the genealogies of Chiefs and leaders of the people are deemed matters of such importance as to justify the frequent cluttering-up of historical narrative with lengthy and oft-repeated details of the origins of each individual named. The influence of traditional praise-songs too, and the Native's natural awe and respect, based upon centuries of ancestor-worship, for bygone Chiefs and other great men of his race lead to the depicting of historical characters all in one tone of unnatural brightness, and without those contrasts of light and shade which, in an imperfect world human nature always displays.

Amongst the poetical extracts included in the anthology two of outstanding merit are Mqhayi's well-known war-poems, *Umkhosi wemiDaka* and *UkuTjhona kukaMendi*. The work of Jolobe in this branch of literature is also of distinct promise. *InGoma kaVelaphi* and *InTlantsi emBizeni* are both poems in modern style which show great imaginative power and a fine feeling for language, and which illustrate how a work of art may be created from the simple treatment of a simple theme,—the longing of a mine-worker for his home and his home-folks,

or an old woman's memories of the past as she sits gazing into the shooting flames of the evening fire. Joloŋe's longer poem, *Akukho Hlelo*, is a clever and well-written satire on the shibolles and external trappings to which the blind sectarian clings.

Imibengo is printed in the new orthography, and is a credit to its publishers, the Lovedale Press. As the book is likely to be widely used in High Schools and Colleges, its value and usefulness would be enhanced if, in future editions, an appendix were added giving brief particulars of the life and work of the writers drawn upon, the sources of the extracts and a few short notes on the more obscure references in the text.

G.H.W.

Hulstaert, G., "Note sur les instruments de musique a l'Equateur," in *Congo*, Brussels, October, 1935, pp. 1-38, illustrated.

Hulstaert, G., "De Telefoon der Nkundo," in *Anthropos*, 1935, pp. 655-668.

These two papers contain much that is of great interest to the ethnologist. The first of them consists of notes on musical instruments made by the writer who has come in contact with many of the peoples living in the Equatorial regions of the Congo.

The author emphasises at the outset that the reader must not expect to find in these notes a complete study of the instruments described therein; nevertheless he has given us a mass of information of great value in many ways. Particularly noteworthy is the careful manner in which he has classified the distribution of the various types, recorded their nomenclature in the numerous dialects, noted the materials used and methods of manufacture, and described their technique. It is perhaps a pity that the sounds produced by the various instruments, or at least their tunings, could not also have been noted down.

M. Hulstaert has classified the instruments under the heads, Wind Instruments, Stringed Instruments, Keyboard Instruments and Instruments of Percussion. In the first group we note with interest that, among certain tribes ocarinas made from calabashes have given place to ocarinas of earthenware, and that most wind instruments are used not only for musical purposes but also for signalling, in a similar manner to those percussion instruments which the author has seen employed for telephonic communication. In the second group M. Hulstaert has been careful to distinguish between instruments of similar appearance, which,

however, involve different technical methods of performance. In the fourth group the author describes generally the methods of signalling, but goes into greater detail regarding this question in this second study, "De telefoon der Nkundo."

To round off his notes he places before us a number of conclusions, drawn from the facts which he has collected, in which he indicates how the presence or absence of certain instruments among the various tribes shows the influence of one upon another, and seems to throw light upon their past history.

The first of these studies is illustrated by charming black and white drawings.

P.R.K.